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*sasq*ᵛ. If the Bella Coola were strictly logical, one should expect them to conceive the upper surface of *sasq*ᵛ as being convex. Instead, it is considered a flat surface, very similar to the earth, and no explanation is given of what fills in the spaces between the dome, concave as viewed from this world, and the upper plane which could rest only on the peak of the dome. But logical accuracy is not a Bella Coola characteristic. This flat land is called *dzɔnaᵛdā* or *wasasqᵛ nuxnitlaqaitl*. It is illumined by a second sun, shining on it as the sun does on the earth. Far in the east of this upper region are extensive tide-flats. This land above is the home of many supernatural beings, who will be described in due course. The relative position of the sun to this upper world is ill-defined. According to some accounts, it travels by clearly marked trails on the surface, and a transparent dome is postulated to explain how its light reaches this earth. Others state that it moves like a bird or flying arrow through the space between the world and the dome-sky above. On many of these points there is a striking difference of opinion, which the Bella Coola explain by saying that their information is derived from ancient stories, which are personal possessions, and that no one knows the beliefs of his fellows. A co-ordinated theology, as Boas points out, has not evolved among the Bella Coola.

The sky, as it may be called if the reader will bear in mind that it is the underside of a flat land, was not always in its present condition. The Bella Coola say that long ago the supreme god instructed his Carpenters (I, p. 39) to make a sky. They started from the eastern extremity of the earth, and when a considerable part of the dome had been erected, it fell with a thunderous crash, because no supporting posts had been set up. The part that escaped this calamity is called *Sulwalcoum*. Undiscouraged, the Carpenters continued their work with the assistance of posts and so built the sky as it is seen today. Then the supports were taken away.

As already stated, a sun shines on the land above. As that seen by mortals is attached to the land above, so is this upper

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sun attached to another land above the one of which our sky is the underside. Boas (p. 28) has described this upper land in some detail. A number of Bella Coola were questioned on this subject, but for some time no one could be found with knowledge of its existence. At length one of the older people remembered that a man who had died some thirty years ago had a personal story connected with it, and later a Kimsquit man was able to furnish definite information. He explained that in his family there was a myth dealing with this matter; others might have heard this myth, but since it was not their property, of course they would not be able to impart the facts contained in it, nor would they necessarily believe it. Consequently, an upper land, superimposed above that which is immediately over the earth, cannot be described as a Bella Coola belief; it is shared, so far as could be ascertained, by only two families.

The chief feature of this uppermost world is its distance and unapproachableness. To the supernatural beings living in the intermediate land it is a *far-off* place; in fact, their attitude towards it corresponds to that with which mortals regard the land above their own. The supernatural ones can, when they wish, visit this upper world, which is called *Nuqulá'l*. A sun shines there, but it is a different kind of sun from that known to mortals. On the whole it appears that this upper sky-land does not differ materially from either the earth or the land immediately above. No human being has ever reached this distant land, so what little is known about it was brought down in the beginning of time by the first people.

In addition to these two upper worlds, the Bella Coola know of one, or perhaps two, below. One of these is inhabited by ghosts.[1] It somewhat resembles the earth, but is unsubstantial and ethereal. It is considered to be immediately

[1] At the present time the Bella Coola are in a state of transition between the old beliefs and the new. This concept is held only by the older people, so it might be more accurate to describe it as one which they, the tribe as a whole, used to have. It has been thought advisable to use the present tense throughout in recording customs and beliefs which are now rapidly passing away.

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beneath the Bella Coola valley, and the land of the living forms a dome over it corresponding to that of the sky over this world. But everything is reversed. A river flows in the land of ghosts, but it rises in the west instead of the east; when it is warm on this earth it is cold in the land below; when it is sunrise here, it is sunset there. Shamans are believed to have penetrated frequently to this land, and on information from them the Bella Coola base their beliefs.

There is another land beneath the ocean. In this live the fish and sea mammals in human form, as well as other beings to be described in the next section of this chapter. Like all other worlds it has a sun above it,[1] and conditions are said to be similar to those existing on this earth. The Bella Coola are uncertain whether this undersea world is at the same level as the land of ghosts, and whether or not it extends beneath the rivers.

Although Bella Coola concepts regarding the sun and other heavenly bodies will require further consideration, it will be convenient at this point to describe them in outline. The sun is regarded as a heat-radiating ball of such intensity that a human being cannot approach it. Its path, as it crosses the land above, varies from day to day until it reaches its limits at the solstices. As it travels, it is accompanied by the droning of two *Alialtoa*, supernatural feminine beings who remain continually, one in the east and one in the west. According to most informants, the ends of the sun's course, though fixed and invariable from year to year, are not marked by any visible means. Others state that at each limit there is the mouth of a *cranq*, a mythological animal of enormous size.

The moon is thought likewise to travel[2] each day but is said to be very cold. Few stories are current concerning it, although the Bella Coola say that long ago a man tried to reach it, only to be driven back by the intense cold. A shaman who died not many years ago claimed to have received power

[1] One informant stated that our sun served that purpose.
[2] The *Alialtoa* drone as it travels, as they do for the sun.

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from the moon and stated that there were mountains and snow on it. It is commonly stated that the marks on the moon represent a man carrying a bucket.

The stars figure but slightly either in Bella Coola mythology or thought; it is not even known who made them. Two in the Great Bear constellation are called respectively *Tyikste* and *Xoxpuus*, "Little Girls." A lone star in the same part of the sky, named *Atlos*, is said to be following the girls to the forest for illicit intercourse.

Moon, stars, and above all the sun, were, and still are to a certain extent, used by the Bella Coola in computing the passage of time. There are no individuals with the definite prerogative of keeping count of time, but formerly wise old men used to do so.[1] Differences of opinion were the rule rather than the exception, a condition which often led to bitter disputes concerning the proper date for starting the winter ceremonials. Boas (p. 41) has recorded the Bella Coola calendar in greater detail than the present writer has been able to do. The making of calendrical observations is a lost art, and the following list of the months was all that could be learned. It will be noted that these agree with Boas in regard to the months in the early part of the year, but not in those between the summer and winter solstices; no explanation is offered for this disparity.

First moon after the summer solstice: *Sklálkwuxut*, which has the significance, "The Time for Sockeye Salmon to Ascend the River."

Second moon after the summer solstice: *Sl'ichálil*, "The Time for Eating Dog Salmon."

Third moon after the summer solstice: *Sl'ixwai ctl*, "The Time for Eating Coho Salmon."

Fourth moon after the summer solstice: *Sqálpum*, "The Time for Gathering Fern Roots," or *Sklakaus di Xwi'ilxwaiwis*,

[1] Ehenqulx informants stated that there were professional calendrical experts in the know, when he was a young lad although members of the feather society did, also. Q sometimes attended to this matter.

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"The Coming of *Awitkwalois*."[1]

Fifth moon after the summer solstice: *waxiat*, "The Time for *Kaxiat* Dances,"[2] or *Siqulxwais di Siat*, "The Gathering of the Supernatural Beings."

Sixth moon after the summer solstice: *Siaut*, "Sits Down," that is, when the sun reaches the solstice.

First moon after the winter solstice: *Semulmpxum*, "What Sweeps Away Food," or *Sulkk*, "Angry Moon."

Second moon after the winter solstice: *Mnaxadimut*, "Facing in Both Directions," that is, half the month belongs to winter and half to summer, or *Lemolx di Nuxkkmg*, "The Potlatch of the *Nuxkkmg*" (1, p. 169).

Third moon after the winter solstice: *Siaqum*, "When Herrings Spawn." These fish are said to have arrived on the same day of this moon as the winter solstice in the December one.

Fourth moon after the winter solstice: *Silpuly*, "Time for Making Salmon Weirs."

Fifth moon after the winter solstice: *Sinowaut*, "Time for Making Hand-Nets for Oolachan."

Sixth moon after the winter solstice: *Sixalmt*, "Time for Eating Spring Salmon." It is in this month that the summer solstice occurs.

The *chief difficulty* experienced by the Bella Coola in computing time rests on the fact that each month is judged by the moon, whereas the main periods of the year depend upon the solstices. One old man, from whom much of this information was obtained, stated that trouble always came *at the winter solstice when the month was divided into two* sections. The above list is obviously incomplete and incoherent, but it was the best available.

Supernatural Beings

In any primitive community the social, religious, political, and economic aspects of life are so interwoven that they

[1] See vol. II, p. 1 for a description of this mythical being.
[2] See vol. II, chap. v, for a description of these dances.

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rate most of them, are carefully used in accordance with the functions of this supreme deity. As a Bella Coola has many names, corresponding to his membership in various societies, his professional prerogatives, his ancestral myths, and mere nicknames, so has *Alquntám*, who is a supernatural, many names, according to his special functions. It would be unthinkable for a Bella Coola to pray to *Alquntám*, yet it is common for him to pray to *Masakais* or *Tâxê*, other names for the same being. The multiplicity of functions and designations approaches the point of obscuring the unity of *Alquntám*, which in fact, some Bella Coola even deny. They state that *Sunâ'âitla*, *Masakais*, *Smaiahtlis*, and *Nuqâ'mâlnuit* are one, but that *Alquntám*, *Sxaxâ'âitlis*, and *Nemâlquntam* are three distinct supernatural beings. This seeming confusion presents no difficulties to the Indian, since each family has its own myths in which such facts are recorded. He believes these, without questioning those of his neighbour, and it is even possible for an individual to believe two contradictory statements, if he happens to become the owner of two contradictory myths. Evidences collected in the field does not make clear whether the beliefs of the Bella Coola illustrate an incomplete transformation of a single deity into a number of minor ones, or whether they represent the almost complete fusion of a number of beings into one. Following the practice of the great majority of the Bella Coola, the supreme deity will hereinafter be referred to as *Alquntám*.

The most obvious attribute of *Alquntám* is connected with the sun. He can enter it and use it as if it were his canoe. In form he resembles a man, and when he takes charge of the sun it appears as if the latter were a large, self-propelling radiant boat with windows through which he looks forth. It is said that long ago he allowed mink to take charge of the sun, but the malicious animal ran it so close to earth that the intense heat killed almost all living creatures. When *Alquntám* enters the sun he wears a cloak, on the lining of which are salmon; reversing this causes the rivers on earth to teem with salmon.

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Alquntăm is occasionally, but inaccurately, called *Sunx*, the Sun.

Though *Alquntăm* often sojourns in the sun, his home is in the flat land above the sky, a huge house which figures prominently both in Bella Coola mythology and present-day thought. The name of the house is *Nuxmăt-a*. It resembles those constructed on this earth, but is boundless in size. Like the houses of human beings, its name is changed according to what is taking place within. Every autumn the supernatural beings gather there to await the coming of *Alquntăm* at the winter solstice; while waiting they pass the time by performing the equivalent of the earthly *kusiut* dances (II, chap. I). This assemblage is termed *qulxwaix*, and the house, during this period, *Nuxqulxwaista*.

The following names of the house, with meanings, were obtained:

Nuxmăt-a, "The Place of Myths."

Nuxquatsaista, "Where Everything Was Begun."

Nuxkălălxumsta, "The Place Whence Came the Falling Down."

Nuxlămnăxumsta, "The Place Where Mankind was Made."

Nuxălquntămsta, "The Place Where *Alquntăm* Speaks."

Nuxqulxwaista, "The Place of the *Qulxwaix*."

Nuxkăxumsta, "The Place of Meeting," or "The Council House."

Nuhaxmăl. The meaning of this word is unknown.

Axuxwulxmăl, "The Moving House." The significance of this last name rests on an ancient myth in which the house is described as travelling from place to place.

To grasp the significance of these designations it is necessary to understand the beliefs of the Bella Coola concerning the creation. Their mythology contains no account of the origin or birth of *Alquntăm* himself, nor of the making of this world; in the beginning of time no living creature, either animal or vegetable, existed with the exception of *Alquntăm*. He, therefore, decided to alter and populate the world and

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what is probably a moosehide, with salmon painted on it, symbolic of his guardianship of fish for the benefit of mankind. In other respects *Nusmăt-a* has no peculiarities. Behind the house is an enormous tree, *Tyanyu-iapim*, in the branches of which live innumerable owls.

After this description of *Nusmăt-a*, it is logical to return to its master, *Alquntăm*. Guiding the sun is his most spectacular occupation, but he also governs the movements of moon and tides. Powerful though he is, he continues to take an interest in the doings of mankind whom he created. Prayers are commonly addressed to him, and a certain type of shaman is believed to receive power direct from him. Other supernatural beings may work weal or woe to a Bella Coola, but he feels it is done with the sanction of *Alquntăm*. At every winter solstice he enters *Nusmăt-a*, where supernatural beings from all parts of the universe have gathered to greet him. This assembly is called *qulemaia*, and *Nusmăt-a* is termed *Nusqulsnaiats*[1] for its duration. While waiting, the guests perform *kusiut* dances, similar to those carried out by members of the *kusiut* society on earth (see vol. II, chap. I). At *Alquntăm's* entry the heat becomes so intense that the occupants rush forth precipitately, some falling and being trampled upon in the crush. Only three[2] advisers, including *Sxwaxwalais* (I, p. 41), remain to confer with him. They arrange the fate of human beings during the coming year; who shall be made a *kusiut*, who shall be born, who shall die. In each case the decision rests with *Alquntăm*, though he is influenced by his counsellors. Human beings can often learn in dreams what is being decided for them.

Alquntăm, in spite of his strength, shares the limitations of any other chief, and is not invariably successful. The Bella Coola delight in telling stories of how supernatural beings, especially the Raven, outwitted and defeated him. Even

[1] Often pronounced *Nusqulsnaiats*.
[2] The exact number is uncertain.

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dancers. *Snínis* differs from most supernatural beings in having his residence in this world instead of in the land above.

Among the beings dwelling in the upper region are a number of *Xemxemtnum*, whose function it is to ask the sun to appear every day. It travels without their assistance, but if they neglected to arouse it, darkness would prevail all day. The only knowledge of these beings is derived from information given by the first people; they have not been seen by mortals since early days and do not act as patrons for *hamat* dancers.

Heat and Cold are regarded by the Bella Coola as anthropomorphic beings, but their beliefs concerning them have not become crystallized, perhaps because of their non-appearance as patrons of *hamat* dancers. The following story is told of the annual meeting of Heat and Cold.

Every spring Cold, *Snaxlalats*, meets Heat, *Spalkilus*, in some undefined locality and says:

"You will not be welcome in the place to which you are going [the earth]. I have just come from there. People like to get up on cool mornings to start work, they won't pay any attention to you."

But *Spalkilus* replies: "No. They will welcome me. Everyone prefers to spend a few extra minutes in bed in the mornings. It is pleasant to do so when it is warm, hence I shall be welcome in spite of the eagerness of mankind for work."

In spite of its apparent definiteness, this account is regarded merely as a story, and it is doubtful if any historical accuracy is attached to it. The Bella Coola laugh when it is told, and the irony of the conversation is not lost on them.

S'pi', the Cold Wind, is another anthropomorphized being belonging to the realm of stories rather than to that of everyday life and profound belief. His wife is *Alálo*, and their child is Ice. On a cold morning, if a Bella Coola finds ice on liquid left in a bucket or other container, he warms it at a fire until he can lift off the sheet, and throws it out of the door, saying as he does so: "*Alálo*-,[a] your child has become cold."

Both the North Wind and his wife, *saluxmuxʷ-i*, whose home

[a] The causative form of this word.

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is in the upper Bella Coola valley near Firvale, cause cold breezes by blowing them through their snouts. *Sekumae i* especially is a prominent figure in mythology (I, p. 670), but she has not appeared for many generations and her actions belong to legend rather than to either religion or social practices. It is said that she has four sons who once wanted to break a large number of grass stalks. Finding it difficult to do so on account of their toughness, they asked their mother to freeze them; she did this and destroyed every other plant at the same time.

Another anthropomorphic being is *Sa'lâst*, the supernatural South Wind of winter who brings storm and snow. The Carriers affirm that every icicle which grows down until its end is in the snow is his walking-stick, and that to break one causes famine. Some Bella Coola have adopted this belief and carefully refrain from destroying such icicles.

Supernatural beings experience the same difficulty as mortals in reckoning the passage of time. A number of calendrical experts live in the land above, whose duty it is to record both months and years. They are called *Almoxkâlkwaiyaix* or *Almoxkâlkum*. They have been seen occasionally, and are shown, as masked figures, at *xusaê* (I, p. 180), but not as *Sacrist* dancers. Two of these beings always appear, and they argue about their observations after the fashion of humans.

Another division of *Nuxmâ'a* of slight importance in the social life of the Bella Coola is *Xmoxmâlâlis*, a friend and associate of *Alquntâm*. He acts as patron of *Sacrist* dancers, and in this manner is brought to the notice of mortals. In the land above his function is to cherish *Tlâqmâ'ax*, a being resembling a diminutive man, created by *Alquntâm* as a child to all supernatural beings. *Xmoxmâlâlis* is its guardian or nurse; and for safety he usually keeps his charge in the far distant upper land above *Nuxmâ'a*, where *Alquntâm* frequently visits the two. In some mysterious manner, *Tlâqmâ'ax* has been known to reach this earth, giving good fortune to the lucky finder. He is in many cases spoken of as "The Cherished

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Bəḷə have been heard as recently as 1914 according to popular belief. In January of that year a number of young Bella Coola were returning home in a motor-boat from Ocean Falls. They camped for the night on Burke Channel, and were alarmed to hear a crashing of bushes and a beating on tree-trunks. Thoroughly frightened, they directed the beams of several electric torches in the direction of the sounds without avail and at last started the engine of their motor-boat, the noise of which frightened the *bəḷə* away.

An animal somewhat similar to the *bəḷə* is the *dāāwis*. The Bella Coola state that long, long ago, there lived as human beings near Port John on Evans Arm, King Island. They were a strange people, with peculiar rites including the worship of fire. Their neighbours, the Bella Bella, from whom they differed entirely, determined to destroy the *dāāwis*. A massacre took place, and only a few survivors escaped to an island in one of the lakes in the interior of King Island. Here, in course of generations, they grew hairy and lost their human characteristics; it is said that a few paintings made by them are still visible there. Not many years ago some Bella Coola saw what may have been the last surviving *dāāwis*. Two hairy creatures were observed fishing from a skin boat on Burke Channel. As soon as they realized that they were observed they dashed ashore, broke up the framework of their canoe, and plunged into the forest carrying its skin covering. Nothing more seems to be known concerning them, nor do they appear ever to have practised supernatural assistance to anyone.

Another supernatural creature is the *kāāwā'*. It somewhat resembles a cow, although its legs are shorter and its body, which is white and hairless, is heavier. In spite of its awkward build, *this animal can move as rapidly as an ostrich birds and* animals with its tongue, which can be shot forth to a tremendous length. Various incidents are related concerning *kāāwā'*. One of its characteristics is that it causes gales. The country where one lives is invariably denuded of underbrush and even pebbles; everything movable is blown away, leaving only trees

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human wearer belongs to a sphere differing from that of supernatural animals and is dangerous to them. Consequently, if worn clothing be thrown on a fire it repels unpleasant visitors. Other powerful protections are false hellebore, and smoked salmon roe. A wise hunter always carries these and if he sees a dangerous creature such as a *snanap*, he chews the two together and spits them towards the peril. Needless to say, if a kindly animal is seen, the hunter does not drive it away by these methods. Why false hellebore should be so effective is a matter of wonder to the Bella Coola themselves, for as a rule it is the human essence attached to objects which gives them their strength over the supernatural. Thus the most powerful of all charms are pads that have been used by women during their menses. If a woman travels on the ocean she is careful to carry some of them with her ready to repel any danger from the supernatural water beings."

The manner in which the Bella Coola regard mythical animals and other evidences of the supernatural is illustrated by the following practice. Hunters always want to know the direction of the wind, and when the breeze is too slight to be discernible they blow upwards a small amount of eagle down, which is so light that the faintest breath of air will bear it down wind. What the logical white man considers a natural phenomenon, appears to the Bella Coola as miraculous; eagle down, stripped from the dead bird by human hands and stored for some time within a house, has become so humanized that it can conquer supernatural powers to indicate the direction of the wind.

The mythical monsters already described are not the only animals regarded as supernatural by the Bella Coola. They believe that in the beginning *Hiqustáw* created man and beasts at the same time and in the same place, giving the former the greater share of power, but not exiling the latter to a different plane of existence. In those early days, the semi-supernatural

"This matter will be described more fully in connection with Magic; see vol. I, chap. xv.

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The most spectacular of Raven's exploits was the theft of the sun in order to provide light for the world (I, p. 198). In this case, a valuable object was acquired for mankind, but often Raven interfered with the kindly aims of *Alquntăm*, a point illustrated in the following account of the origin of death.*

In the beginning of time, before people had really become human, Raven made a boy from his own body, gave him life, and called him *Owistěmai*. His creation was Raven's chief joy. The youth was beautiful; his feet and hands were especially small and light-coloured, and Raven gloried in what he had been able to do without the assistance of his friend *Yaihtěmai*, the Carpenter. All went well until *Owistěmai* was about fifteen years of age when *Alquntăm* wanted to find out about this being which Raven had created. Accordingly, he sent to earth one of his *Sealwhitis* to carry off *Owistěmai*. At that time there were four *Sealwhitis* in *Nuxwit'a*, huge, eagle-like, supernatural birds under the special care of *Alquntăm* himself. Down swooped one of these creatures and carried the youth aloft to *Nuxwit'a*, where he was treated as a guest by *Alquntăm*.

Raven, ignorant of the reason for his loss, was heart-broken. He pulled out his hair and for four days sat and pondered. Then he decided to wage war on the *Sealwhitis*, not knowing that the latter had been acting by command of *Alquntăm*. Raven went to *Yaihtěmai* and asked him to make a huge whale. The carpenter was surprised and enquired about the purpose, whereupon Raven told him of the loss of *Owistěmai*, and how he hoped that the *Sealwhitis* would be lured into swooping down to fight the dummy and would be vanquished. *Yaihtěmai* agreed to help him and worked for four days on a gigantic cedar, chiselling it out like a canoe, but in the shape of an enormous whale. Then for four days he gathered gum and covered the wooden monster with a layer about an inch thick; finally he painted the outer surface to resemble a whale. It was a very fine piece of work. That night Raven asked *Yaihtěmai* to launch it. The stomach had been weighted so that it could [illegible] whale acted according to specification, diving and rising easily, moving to right or left according to the wishes of the helmsman. Raven was delighted.

Early next morning *Yaihtěmai* again launched the craft at Raven's request, and it wallowed around near the shore like a real whale. *Alquntăm*

*Related by Jim Pollard.

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place where he is not likely to be disturbed, and addresses the supreme god in a loud tone of voice, requesting his assistance.

Although prayers can be said at any time of the day, or at any season of the year, there are occasions when they are more potent than at other times. At dawn, for example, a wise young man is accustomed to go alone to the river to wash and pray. He enters the icy water, blows mucus over his hands, and rubs his body vigorously[a] either with a smooth pebble, or, if it can be obtained, with a stone taken from the stomach of a sea-lion.[b] As he scours himself, he asks *Mouksáis* to grant him long life, power, success, and strength. On coming from the water, he repeats his request, and then washes himself again. This process is repeated four times, making eight prayers in all. A young man who does this habitually, and in other ways placates the supreme deity, is likely to have success, and may even be given supernatural assistance by one of the many anthropomorphic or zoomorphic creatures. The underlying belief is that *Alquntám* actually hears the words spoken and, pleased thereby, aids the petitioner either directly, or by strengthening the supernatural elements in his body.

Mouksáis has power over both rain and dry weather, and is petitioned for whichever is desired. When the sun is obscured by rain clouds, the Bella Coola pray:

"Please clean your face, *Mouksáis*," or,

"Please show us your face, we need you."

Before a man starts on a journey, either by canoe or on foot, he always asks help for his undertaking.

"*Mouksáis*," he prays, "Be with me," or "Go before me," or, "Give me what I want."

Corresponding to the importance of the occasion, prayers are always made before the departure of a hunting or war

[a] Urine was formerly used for washing both the body and clothing. It was followed by the application of clean water, and undoubtedly had a religious significance. Indeed, washing purely for cleanliness was not habitual until recently.

[b] The Bella Coola state that stones are often found in the stomachs of sea-lions. One specimen, considered of great value, was seen; it was indistinguishable from a water-smoothed river pebble.

b:McDowalth E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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party. Canoes always start soon after dawn, and each member of the expedition is careful to pray before leaving, and also to avoid eating in case food should in any way interfere with the success of the venture. Before reaching their destination, a chief in each canoe draws from a pouch some eagle down brought for the purpose, holds it before his mouth, and blows a little towards each of the four cardinal points, at the same time asking *Mesakais* to smile on the enterprise and grant a safe return. This does not guarantee success, but it is felt that any disaster which may occur would have been more serious if assistance had not been thus requested.

Although *Alquntam*, under the name of *Mesakais*, is the one to whom prayers are most often addressed, petitions are sometimes made to other beings. In the beginning of time, when Raven had superabundant power, mortals frequently sought his assistance. At the present time, he is sometimes asked for aid, in the belief that he may still have some shreds of his former power, or be in a better position than men to intercede with *Mesakais*. If ravens croak when it is raining, people may ask them to request the supreme being to stop the rain; in such cases, a petitioner is careful to address a raven as *Nuwakila*, his title as chief, rather than as Raven. In cold winter weather, a raven is sometimes caught alive, its head smeared with grease, and as it is released, the captor says:

"Please send the cold wind, *Nuwakila*."

Prayers are also said half humorously, half seriously, on many occasions. When, for example, clothing has become too ragged for further use, it is thrown on a fire with the remark:

"Please come to me again, new."

The thrower does not actually believe that in so doing he is asking help from his clothing, but it gives him a certain sense of satisfaction thus to have expressed his desires.

The prayers above described can be said by anyone, at any time; they are means of propitiation known to the whole community. In addition, information was obtained about two prayers, each of which is the jealously guarded prerogative

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of a single family. Either is considered an almost certain means of stopping rain, but no one, even though aware of the method, can practise it with success unless he is a member of the family to which the method belongs. 782 424 821

One of these prayers, the property of a Kimsquit family, is addressed to *Xemxemälotla*. If the petitioner wishes to stop heavy rain, he goes to a quiet place in the woods and calls in a loud voice:

*Hāyo Xemxemälotla,**	*nuqwikdē*	*ilnō*	*dī tsay"nudz*
Hail, *Xemxemälotla*,	upon	the loftiest	of your heaven
chēcyuxunde	*dī chēwwiqwu*		*tsim nīwadja.*
so that may look down	the cherished one		your child.

That is, "Expose the upper heaven so that your cherished child may look down."

It will be remembered that *Xemxemälotla* is the being who takes care of *Tlāqmē'ēs* in the upper skyland. It is said that this prayer was learnt by the ancestors of an informant in the beginning of time and that a repetition of the exact words is enough to drive away the rain clouds between earth and the upper heaven. For many generations care was taken to teach some intelligent member of the family the correct formula, and the person so entrusted was expected to use his knowledge for the benefit of any of his relatives desiring fine weather. [776]

Another prayer prerogative of similar type was recorded from an old man who related what he had seen his grandfather do many years before. The two were once hunting when heavy rain threatened their success and drove them to the shelter of a projecting ledge. The grandfather, not having any cedar-bark with him, cut and dried some evergreen boughs which he gave to his grandson, telling him to light them and wave them over his, the grandfather's, head. When this had been done, the old man rushed out into the rain and in a loud voice asked some supernatural being, whose name was forgotten, to throw his eyes upon the rain clouds in order to dispel them. That night the petitioner neither drank water nor urinated, and the [924] [715]

*The vocative form.

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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next day the weather was fine. This particular method of praying had been learnt by one of his ancestors in the beginning of time, and was afterwards transmitted in his family. With the coming of the white man and consequent decay of customs, it has not been exercised since the death of the grandfather of the man from whom the information was obtained.

SACRIFICE

It might be expected that a clear division should be made between the subjects of prayer and sacrifice, but in practice they merge into one another. A mountain goat hunter, when camped near a glacier which he knows to be the haunt of some dreaded supernatural being, asks help from him. He wears dyed and undyed cedar-bark decorations to make his request more ceremonious, and after the prayer throws them into the fire, saying:

"Please accept these, supernatural one," thus making an offering to supplement his verbal petition.

If he is even more cautious, or eager not to offend any supernatural being in the vicinity, he throws on the fire tufts of cedar-bark, eagle down, and scraps of food as well. Whether or not the objects thus destroyed by the flames reach the being to whom the request has been made, is a matter upon which the Bella Coola do not theorize; but the generosity and self-denial of the donor is appreciated, and a favour is often granted in return. A man who frequently hears in his dreams the voice of some supernatural being, knows that it is taking an interest in his doings and endeavours to propitiate it, by placing on a fire titbits of any food he has obtained, saying at the same time:

"*W'ai, wai, wai,*" "More, more, more," that is, "May I receive more of the same."

A foolish person fails to show his appreciation of favours received, but a wise man never forgets to do so.

Likewise a person is careful to propitiate supernatural powers when in peril. Both at Kwatna and at Mesatche Nose,

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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whiskers over which is scattered eagle down. From the back of the head-dress hang weasel skins. In Bella Bella it is said to be customary for a skin to be added on every occasion when a *nusuś* is confined to the back-room. This may happen as many as fifteen times to the child of wealthy parents, and a few Bella Coola have adopted the practice of marking each with a skin. Usually, some six or nine are hung in two tiers, without consideration of the number of times the wearer has been in seclusion. The central figure of the forehead mask is a head with a hooked nose, the recurved hook being joined to the face itself. This figure does not vary with the wearer's ancestral myth, and no one knows what it represents. This design is said to have been introduced to Bella Coola from the north a few generations ago; before that time the head-dress consisted of a circular band of dyed cedar-bark, decorated with the tail feathers of one of the large woodpeckers. The Bella Coola call it simply, "forehead mask." Each initiate carries a hollow rattle, carved in the shape of a bird, which he holds in his right hand, belly uppermost. Long, long ago, when a dancer failed to do so, the rattle became alive and the bird flew away; hence, this rule has been obeyed ever since.

Each initiate takes up his station in some part of the house behind the fire and dances to the beating of the sticks. The left hand of each is clasped behind his back and in his right he holds the rattle and keeps it in constant motion by shaking his wrist. Ability to do this is one of the marks of a good dancer. Keeping the body stiff and the legs close together, he rises with slight jumps, barely altering his position on the floor. Sometimes he slowly turns around *sunwise*[1] in his series of jumps, at other times he does not alter his position. The head is bent from side to side and downwards at each jump, causing the eagle down to fly in all directions. *Nusuś* assistants blow more of the material on to the head-dress at intervals (see Plate 18).

[1] The Bella Coola believe that the sun moves from east to south to west to north. Many ceremonial movements follow this direction, which will henceforth be described as sunwise.

[illegible] Seventh E-1 (1912-1924) 1948
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539 to climb up to visit his grandfather. *Be'axoos* did not discourage him, as his son began the ascent and soon disappeared from sight. In course of time he reached the last above and made his way to his grandfather, *Alquntlun*, who was delighted to see him. He told his visitor that he was weary of constantly carrying the sun's light, and asked him to relieve him of the duty for a time. He mentioned that on previous occasions when his wife had acted as his substitute, she, being a woman, had been shy and had hidden herself behind clouds. The boy was willing to undertake the task and listened to his grandfather's instructions; in the morning he was to use only one fire stick, a little later, two, then three, and, finally, four at midday. In the afternoon he was to decrease the number in a manner corresponding to the morning's increase."

[821] Next day *Alquntlun* went away for a holiday after entrusting his grandson with the precious fire sticks. As soon as he was alone, the ambitious youth began to pile one after another on the fire, until people in the world far below were wakened as drawn by the suffocating warmth. *Be'axoos*'s son threw on log after log, each increasing the heat below. The earth began to sizzle, and finally burst into flames, and the water boiled in the rivers and seas. *Saxoam* a bird realized what must be the matter as soon as she felt the great heat, so she went outside and rubbed her hand over the pitches on her house. Thus protected, these within survived, although all other human beings perished. Most of the animals escaped by hiding, though the weasel failed to conceal the tip of its tail which was burnt black, a characteristic inherited by all weasels ever since. *Alquntlun* felt the heat and hurried home.

[825] "You have done great harm to mortals," he burst out angrily. "Thenceforth you shall live on earth as a witch."

[828] *Alquntlun* seized his grandson and cast him to earth in this guise.

539 The survivors of the catastrophe multiplied until the whole world
551 was repeopled from the single household. Each of them took an *o'alk*
575 name from the burning, and these have been transmitted from one to another of the descendants of each until this day. One of them, a *nuxpul* name, is *Sulpkaxoos*, "The Increase of the Sun's Heat through the Addition of Five Sticks"; another, a *Sulpkaxoos*, emphasizes, "The Track of the Sun"; a third, *Skaml*, "The Charred Portion of a Half-Consumed Log."

539 The following Kimsquit story[a] describes the obtaining of
575 an *o'alk* prerogative in the distant past.

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[a] For another version of this tale, see Boas, p. 95.
[b] Related by Jim Pelkett.

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guard brothers and sister united to get rid of her; she became petrified in the valley which still bears her name, and which still has an evil reputation as the coldest place in the vicinity of Bella Coola. Thence come the cold winds.

Agwatsa instructed his carpenters to construct *Sunp*[a]. They set about their task, but failed to use any supporting posts so that when all was completed, except a small section in the east, it fell. When the carpenters recommenced their work, they took care to erect uprights to bear the weight, and thus were able to construct the sky as it is today. When it was finished, the supports were removed. Only those living at *Nalkun* witnessed this disaster, and from it they took their names. *Kwatlang*[a] was the name of the first *Sunp*[a] that fell.

According to another informant the first settler at *Nalkun* was *Dadaxaq*[a], who had also the name *Xwaxwalain*. He came to earth in the form of a beaver, bringing a salmon-weir as means of obtaining sustenance.

TRADITION OF AN ORIGIN MYTH OF *Nalkun*[b]

Among the five people who came down to earth at *Tunas* was a stone man, who brought with him a vessel as a present from the supreme deity. As a result of this gift the *Tunas* were constantly practising the art of war, and always ready to start hostilities; their settlement was a forked of conflict. One of these people, *Lhkaaklik* by name, married of amongst with, determined to set out and find a new home for himself. After considerable travelling he reached *Nalkun* where he settled down among the inhabitants of that village. He had brought with him a young boy who in time married a woman from *Ahkla*, and became the father of many children.

ORIGIN MYTH OF *Sunp*[b]

In the beginning *Whagat* came to earth as a man on Mount *Nayn*, near *Sunp*. He seated himself on the mountain top and slid down to the valley, steering a smooth rock as he went, which is still here like the peak of a housetop. He was all alone and built for himself a house of evergreen boughs, *hemli*, to which he gave the name *Kwatlang*. After remaining there for some time he decided to marry, so he set off up the valley to find out if there were any people living above him. He travelled

[a] Related by *Johnnie*, a past informant.
[b] Related by Mrs. Willie Hook.

make a salmon-weir. In accordance with *Aqamikkuk*'s instruction, *Inaarfaar* planned to make a circuit of the world making a suitable place to settle. He moved northward, to eagle form, scattering eagle down, wherefore this material has ever since been highly regarded and is used as a symbol of peace. Owing, moreover, to the eagle down scattered on the mountains, there has always been much snow in that region.*

Sometimes as he travelled he scanned the face of the sun, for he was so powerful that nothing was impossible to him. For in the north *Inaarfaar* obtained an enormous copper, which he carried back to *Kinuqsiit* without completing his original plan of circling the earth. He perched on a tree near his brother's almost completed salmon-weir.

"Why don't you change yourself to a human being?" *Inaqumikkuk* inquired.

"I am waiting until our food is more plentiful," *Inaarfaar* replied. "Besides I have been to the far north where I obtained an enormous copper."

When the weir was completed and *Inaqumikkuk* was catching many salmon, his brother at last decided to become a man. But instead of landing his sled-load where he intended it, as an eagle, *Inaarfaar* now became an ardent fisherman and was much annoyed by the baffle made by the bird, though he himself was responsible for it not having returned to *Nunamiut*. After about a year he suggested to *Inaqumikkuk* that they should kill it, but the latter demurred, since it was the gear which *Aqamikkuk* had given *Inaarfaar*. The latter said nothing, but the next time he saw the eagle crushing his fish he killed the bird, without consulting his brother. He cannot had to have this done for his sake, but it was not love, he could not restore the eagle to life.

Owing to the advice given them by *Aqamikkuk* the two brothers were now very prosperous, and *Inaarfaar* began to think of marriage. One day he noticed some ships floating down the Utuk River, so he judged that people must be living on that stream. He set out to investigate, met Tuttu, and married his sister Ilitaaliq, as has been described in a Utuk River myth. To celebrate this event the two brothers proposed to invite people from far and near. Then they lengthened their house to accommodate a large number. It was of the type known as *nalimaaluk*, though it could not expand without human agency. Then they painted their spears with designs of the *nalugan*, since they had brought that custom with them from there. Now everything was ready and they announced their guests. When all had assembled, *Inaarfaar* gave a feast[illegible]

* The shade which has now changed today a new year as all called "*Inaarfaar*'s shade," in memory of his journey. The myth tells us why *Inaarfaar* was responsible for this phenomenon.

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On the following day another adventure befell the same party when they were almost home. Passing the site of the present cannery, on the south side of North Bentinck Arm, about half a mile from its head, they went among some old stumps which at high tide resembled basking seals. When in the midst of these, they all seemed to come to life, crashing into the water in all directions, raising billows which drenched the paddlers with foam and nearly wrecked the canoe. The travellers considered themselves fortunate in reaching Bella Coola alive.

Apparitions have appeared several times near Menzies Point, the point between South Bentinck Arm and Labouchere Channel, a place noted for storms. On one occasion the father of a Bella Coola, in 1911, sixty years of age, was near there when he suddenly saw lights on two mountains diagonally opposite each other on either side of the fiord, at a distance of about six miles. The lights grew bigger and bigger, approached each other and receded, until finally they merged; it became bright as day, although it was midnight at the time, and there was only a new moon. The lights separated after a little, until each gradually withdrew to its mountain and disappeared.

From the same spot some travellers once saw an enormous monstrous goat walking on the surface of the water. Almost immediately a storm arose which swamped the canoe, and drowned all but one of its occupants. As soon as the craft was submerged, the gale subsided, as is always the case after people have been drowned.

During 1910, while a young Bella Coola was proceeding down South Bentinck Arm in his motor-boat, a storm arose and the waves poured into his boat until it almost foundered. To the midst of the gale he saw two pillars of water shoot up from the surface of the fiord to a great height, then gradually fade away as if they had been smoke. The storm ultimately subsided. No one could tell which supernatural being had

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in his sleep, and hopes that it will grant him specific supernatural power. He realizes that he could increase the probability of obtaining this by ceremonial chastity, and believes that it would come to him if he went alone to the woods and lay fasting for some time. Another means would be to concentrate his thoughts upon the desired end, but X is too good a Christian to do so; he is in the unhappy position of knowing too much of two religions to be able to practise either unreservedly. Such experiences are not likely to occur to any but a man of high-strung, imaginative temperament, to whom dreams and mental excitements appear especially vivid. X is intensely religious, so that it is easy for him to interpret every phenomenon in terms of the supernatural. It will be noted that most of the dreams just described took place when he was sick, precisely the time when hallucinations are to be expected. They were more coherent than those of most Bella Coola, though the difference is one of degree rather than of kind.

Most dreams are comparatively simple, and the information received in them is intelligible. They come to all, irrespective of rank or prerogative. Nevertheless, it is believed that an inheritable tendency runs in some families; this does not mean that all members of such a group dream constantly, but they are more likely to do so than others. Those occurring at the winter solstice are more carefully observed than at other times, since it is then that the supernatural beings decide events for the coming year and a man's spirit may be able to inform him of what has been decided. Consequently, as soon as *Alqaoóm* enters *Nuxnúk·a*, wise men separate from their wives and concentrate on dreaming, hoping to learn what is in store for them. For instance, if a man sees himself seated before a large pile of goods, he knows that he will have the good fortune to do this during the coming year; on the other hand, if he foresees ill luck, it means that he will be unfortunate. Another time when dreams are especially desired is before the summer solstice when hunters in particular observe ceremonial chastity. This purification not only increases the likelihood of such

5:McDermitt E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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by the bear. This happened a third time, but on the fourth attempt the women succeeded in cutting the string, whereupon the sun went bounding away.

The orphan walked along a good road until he came to a house from inside which he could hear women's voices and the sound of bark-beating. Peering in, he saw a number of women preparing soft bark coverings for an infant who was lying in a cradle-box; they were the supernatural cedar-bark beaters who live in the land above. When *Djuskp* walked in, they asked him whence he had come; he replied by inquiring why they were making bark cloths, and they answered that they were for a cradle. They told him to lie down in it, saying that it was so comfortable that he would soon fall asleep. Though *Djuskp* suspected that they were plotting against him, he felt so secure in his great power that he did as they asked. As soon as he had lost consciousness, the box rotated so as to see so that he was projected through the floor itself, down into the region between the upper land and this earth. After falling a short distance, *Djuskp* changed to eagle down and floated back up to the house, where he reappeared to the women in human form once more. They were amazed at seeing him again, but once more he obligingly went to sleep. Again the box rotated to cast him down below, and again he became eagle down and floated up. When this had happened four times, *Djuskp* became angry.

"I am a shaman," he said to the women, "and will kill you if you are not careful."

The supernatural bark beaters advised him to go back to his sister, telling him to return by the way he had come. He decided to follow their counsel, found the tree still in position and climbed down, the trunk growing shorter as he descended. In this way he reached home in safety.

In a third version, collected from another informant, the hero is named Tsalkaqa. He is described as a lad who supported his sister on small game, while dreaming of the time when he could be a real hunter. He decided that a love-song of public fame was necessary, and obtained the wherewithal to make one from his sister, after refusing to use any other kind of hair. The story relates how he arose indeed to a one-eye, whom he overpowered on climb after it, ultimately reaching the land above. Parallel quests (with reward this territory, in one of which he set his love-song to a tune and in this way saved the sun. After a season had relieved the captive Tsalkaqa returned to earth.

[121]

The manner more than such parallel trail was the work of the sun

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on a successive day and then after being captured the sun crossed its course. This is said to be the origin of the solstices.

There are many other versions of this tale current in Baffin Castle, in some of which the hero is said to have been a native of Green Bay.

THE BOY WHO WAS REVENGED BY GRIZZLY BEAR.

The youths of a certain village were very fond of wrestling, spending most of their time in bouts. Proud of their strength, they used to unite to bully one of their fellows, a weakly youngster quite unable to hold his own among his more vigorous companions; they not only mocked his lack of strength, but, when wrestling, threw him around as if he were a plaything. For a long time the lad remained passive under the taunts and ill-treatment of his companions, then determined to seek supernatural aid. Adorning himself with eagle down, first under-back and undyed under-back, he made his way to a small pond up the valley, where he knew that grizzly bears were in the habit of washing. For four days he lay down by the water, without sleeping or eating. At last he saw a bear approaching, but, strengthened by his fast, he showed no sign of fear.

"You have come to obtain power from me," said Grizzly Bear.

"Yes," answered the boy.

"Very well."

Grizzly Bear washed the lad in the pond, and as the creature passed his hands over him, the youth felt an increase in strength. There was a large boulder near the edge of the pond, one which the bears used to use removed when playing.

"Throw me that rock," said the bear, wishing to see how strong the lad had become.

But the latter, though strong enough to throw it, determined to plead weakness with the intention of obtaining greater strength by more washings. In this he succeeded. When he pretended to try to lift the stone, but failed to do so, Grizzly Bear again washed him, and again he felt increasing vigour.

"Try now," said Grizzly Bear.

A second time the boy pretended that it was too heavy for him.

"Fellow!" said Grizzly Bear. "If you had any manner courage you would be able to throw it as I do."

So he said this he raised the boulder a considerable distance as though it had been a pebble.

Nevertheless he consented to wash the youth a third time and even, when again he failed to lift the stone, a fourth time. Now the lad decided that he had obtained as much strength as he could, so he picked up the

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"I am very glad. I love you so [illegible], because I understand that you buried my son merely as a thoughtless prank. The place to which you are bound is very bad. No ordinary traveller ever returns from it, but I am going to make you clairvoyant."

So saying, she took her young and put it in a sack, which she gave to the four brothers, who continued their journey. Soon they came to a house, *Parmiri-a*, though they knew it not. Peering through the cracks they saw within a man, *Ajaumba*, who invited them to enter, saying that he knew they had come because they did not get on well with their father. So whenever a bird warned them, he invited them to sit down in a certain place in the house, while he went out. He came back armed to his dance again, and as he performed, the house began to warm up. He again withdrew, to return with other dance clothing, and so he danced on to the last movement. *Ajaumba* repeated this procedure four times, the last one so stifling that the brothers could hardly breathe, until one of them warned the young giver to dash by whenever it. Almost immediately they felt relief. *Ajaumba* continued his dance, and a great combat went on between the wild and the lost until finally the latter was vanquished. *Ajaumba* was driven by the wild one a corner where he admitted his defeat, adding:

"You are the first that ever overcame me. Take whatever you desire of my goods or of my power."

Awed by their experience, the four brothers returned to Bella Coola. Owing to the successful combat with *Ajaumba*, the four and wild of whom usually return to vanquish the host of enemies, which otherwise would destroy all life.

THE MAN WHO BECAME SUPER FROM THE SKIES[1]

Long, long ago a certain man, *Echamcus*, and his black brothers borrow for four days, knowing it would render him susceptible to visitations from the supernatural. He observed every night in his father's house to sleep, and on the fourth night he made a small hole in his blanket, so that when he pulled it over his head he was able to see, though he appeared to be asleep. So he watched he saw a woman approaching, and said to it:

"Don't hide. I see you."

The woman then became a woman and carried *Echamcus* to a house in the house of the Moon, whence she had come. The Moon rubbed his hands over the face of *Echamcus*, thus making him a shaman, he also gave his guest a small whistle, which had the power of calling the eagles

[1] This story was obtained from a man in his image. He was always spoken of as Echamcus and the following must be regarded merely as an outline.

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It is said that one was accidentally cooked when spitting on a toad, and swallowed the creature. It lived within his stomach for fifty years, causing no discomfort though its source could feel it moving, and its singing could be heard at intervals. This brought him no supernatural power, although he was enabled by it to live to a great age. When at last he died, the toad came hopping out of his throat and was carried respectfully to the river by his friends who covered the creature with eagle down and dyed and sculpted cedar bark.

Some of the rites already described with regard to animals and fish are similar in nature to this medicine.

To Cause Obesity

A medicine was formerly used by chiefs to make them fat and important-looking, but details of it have been forgotten.

To Cause Ability in Singing

Catch an unborn (?) (sacred thrush?) alive and put it four times against the throat of the woman to whom it is desired to impart the art, saying:

"May she be a singer like you."

Release the bird and the woman will become a good singer.

This bird is considered by the Bella Coola to be the finest songster among British Columbia birds, and they say that many animals and fish, including even the halibut, gather to hear its singing.

To Cause Ability in Hunting

There is a poisonous plant which, when eaten, almost kills the eater. If he recovers, he is henceforth endowed with great ability as a hunter. The species could not be ascertained.

To Cause Change in Weather

If a cold wind is desired: Throw the penis of a mountain goat on burning oil or a fire.

If rain is desired: Wash the penis of a large buck and throw it into the water or a river, saying:

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"Please, may it be so it was when you held intercourse."

The basis of these medicines is that mountain goats and beaver mate in November when it is cold, and deer in October when it is rainy.

An old Kimsquit man mentioned that one winter he had been driven ashore by continuous cold winds and was on the verge of starving. He slew a buck and by using the medicine just described was able to bring rain with consequent lessening of wind so that he could continue his journey.

MALEVOLENT MEDICINES

To Destroy the Benefits of Another's Ceremonial Chastity

Place pieces of flesh from any recently skinned animal within a coffin from which the skeleton of an enemy has been removed, uttering at the same time the name of the person to be injured. This destroys the "cleanness" acquired by the observance of ceremonial chastity.[1]

To Cause Insanity in a Woman

Catch a squirrel alive and tie one of the woman's hairs around its stomach; then release the animal. As it runs violently through the forest, sometimes head upwards, sometimes head downwards, so will the brain of the person whose hair it is carrying begin to churn violently till madness ensues.

To Cause Ferocity in Grizzly Bears

Throw the body of a recently killed muskrat against a man's back. The next grizzly bear he encounters will be ferocious, and may kill him. Knowledge of this medicine was learnt by noticing that a number of men who had been struck in play with muskrats, were killed by grizzly bears. The potency of the act has since been recognized.

To Cause Disease in a Malefactor

A number of years ago, when three Bella Coola were killed

[1] This medicine was learnt from a native ventriloquistic informant and was not confirmed by others.

2: McDermith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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salmon are properly looked after, in fact, he is practically the supernatural archetype of the River Guardian. *Imimäitsaic*, "The Mover," is a supernatural child who stays with the Resident, and whose sole function appears to be the moving of *Nuälqvum*'s craft. *Dukdukkvum* is sent by *Imaiac a*, who in this connection appears to have human intelligence, to greet *Nuälqvum*, and with him come *Imaiac a*'s son, *Mälläkkvum*,[1] to assist *Nuälqvum* in poling his craft up the river. All these beings are persons for different *tsätsaiat*. The Resident is also known as *Awäläla*.

The *tsätsaiat* assemble in X's house as on the previous occasions; according to some informants two songs are used on this day, others say only one. The people proceed in the usual manner to the lowest house, and make their way upstream. When about half through the village, however, X shrieks out that *Nemälkun* has brought a call to him. The women and the heralds cry out loudly, X hastily returns to his own house, from which the uninitiated are at once expelled, and the *tsätsaiat* whistles sound from within. *Nemälkun* is one of the supernatural beings who has travelled with *Nuälqvum* for the sole purpose of bringing a call to X. If the calendrical experts have been successful in their reckonings, the November moon will first be visible on the night of this day. Several of the older men admitted that errors were common, and that sometimes four days were had to elapse, in which it was said that *Nuälqvum* was poling up the river. As he passes, his dancers in the different villages receive their calls on successive nights. It is assumed that he can go by several adjacent settlements on the same night, but the *tsätsaiat* season is two or three days shorter in *Imaiac* and the upper villages than in *Kemsquiut*. Exact information on this point was unavailable. As already described, *Nuälqvum* travels to *Imaiac a*, whence he longs to *Nesquälmaiac* and places his pole within the house. All the supernatural beings crowd in after him to wait for *Mqvaiäiac*, but as soon as the latter enters, *Nuälqvum* seizes his

[1] These informants were then there are four of these beings.

elaborate myths dealing with the origin of the *kuxtawa* dances. They believe that they are performed by the supernatural beings in the land above, and that long, long ago *Mąxwaxiw* and his associates held a meeting at which it was decided to send them down to mortals. They chose as recipient a certain *Qoiwadzoa* of Kimsquit, and the prerogative of giving *kuxtawa* dances has since been possessed by the owner of that name.* The following accounts are of the dances performed by a certain *Qoiwadzoa* whom it will be convenient to call X. He has six repositories, one for each section of his dance.

As with all other *kuxtawa* prerogatives, the impetus to dance can come only on receipt of a call from a supernatural person, the being *Kulkulelaxsiłas* in the case of all *kuxtawa* dances. The uninitiated are told that a call "falls" on the recipient, and moreover that for *kuxtawa* dances it can take place only when the supernatural beings are rushing out of the house above on the entry of the sun at the winter solstice. Thus *kuxtawa* dances should take place after the winter solstice, although this requirement has not been enforced in recent years.

The Stomach-Cutting Dance

In the early summer X decides to exercise his prerogative the following winter. He informs one of the mandaks of his wish, and the latter summons his associates to the secret meeting-place where the matter is debated at length. Danger of exposure of details to the uninitiated is so great that the mandaks refuse permission for the performance unless the would-be dancer is a man of proved reliability. Once this consent has been obtained, X quietly proceeds with his preparations, laying in supplies of food and asking his *kuxtawa* friends for their assistance. When the dances begin, X attends to do all other *kuxtawa*, though his secret mental excitement increases as the time drawn near for him to perform. The exact time of entering is discussed with the mandaks, and a position

*There are other *kuxtawa* dances in Bella Coola.

out that he wants someone to tie up his neck, and, after the usual delay, an uninitiated lad is brought forward for the purpose. The carpenters help him to manipulate the rope, and in reality do the actual tying although they disguise the fact. Then four or five *kokwaxwe* seize either end and begin to tug; X cries out as if in pain, the whistles sound, and the women drone. It is most impressive. Finally the head is pulled from the body and falls to the floor, while the apparently headless and lifeless body of X sinks down in the direction taken by the head. Blood and raw flesh are in evidence and the weeping of the women readily convince non-members that they have witched the decapitation of the dancer. Sometimes the uninitiated themselves are allowed to pull the rope.

The ritual throughout the night is identical with that already described for the Stomach-Cutting dance. The spectators the dance, refusing sprees to all, the mourning women sing their songs, the puppets ascend to the land above and are lowered into X on their return. At intervals groups of the uninitiated are told to come forward; they circle the fire sunwise and see that X's head is lying apart from his body, with the blood and flesh and the severed neck visible. Towards dawn[1] hidden strings are fastened to the head and it is drawn slightly towards the body. One of the members calls out:

"It moves! It moves! Do you see it?" and a herald answers: "We see it move."

The slow movement is continued until the uninitiated, who make periodic inspections, are able to say that it has almost rejoined the trunk. As the first glimmer of light appears in the east, one of the carpenters bends over X and takes the opportunity, while he conceals the dancer's body with his own, to hide the false head beneath his blanket, at the same time X stretches his own head up from under his blanket. The subterfuge is not evident to the uninitiated.

[1] The passage of time or night is judged in villages on the coast by the height of the tide, or the movements of stars; the latter is also practised in the inland settlements. If the stars are hidden, an estimate is made by the number of times they have changed their course.

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[The Fungus Dance]

THE BELLA COOLA INDIANS

from a distance. When one of the participants has spotted the object, it is drawn to shore and carried into the house. The uninitiated are then called in and asked, often covering their heads with blankets to prevent their spirits being drawn from them. None of the Bella Coola appears to know what governed, in the old days, the choice between these two performances.

The Fungus dance differs considerably from typical *hamatsa* rituals already described. In part this is certainly due to decay of custom. When the writer witnessed the dance in the winter of 1923-4 it was carried out very crudely by *Snaulaltā'ko*, who, unwilling to admit this, was secretive about the proper ritual. Consequently, the performance of the dance was more of a hindrance than a help to the investigator. But even when full weight is given to this circumstance, it is clear that the Fungus dance is peculiar, particularly in the omission of masked figures or rattlesnake.

The ritual on that occasion was further complicated by the fact that *Snaulaltā'ko* has also the prerogative of dancing at an eclipse of either the sun or the moon, and instead on this [illegible] being brought out in connection with her songs. Four of these were composed instead of the usual two, and the supernatural beings described in them were:

Algunsim: under the name of *Snaulaltā*.

The Moon.

Imaiaiu: This was introduced on account of being the place from which the Salmon-Berger leaps to the sun. A mask representing this place of peculiar power is always painted with salmon designs and the blanket of the wearer is decorated in the same way.

The *Imaiaiu* mentions that are to point at the ends of the sun's course.

Hillaw: A supernatural being dwelling under the river who is able to use a fungus in a dance held there. Detailed information about this creature could not be obtained.

At any eclipse, no matter what the season of the year or

2:McGowith E-9 (1922-1924) 1968
NEA Bellacoola NEA

time of day, X must sing. The heralds call everyone to his house where the singers at once compose a new song, describing sun or moon as the case may be. They then sing it while X dances. Other *kukuxtal* have the prerogative of dancing at an eclipse of the sun, and still others at an eclipse of the moon, but X claims to be the only one entitled to dance at both.

THE MYSTERY DANCE

Mystery is the key-note of all *kuxtal* dances, but in the one termed *Alwastámk* that element is brought home so forcibly to the uninitiated that it may aptly be called the Dance of Mystery. The Bella Coola explain that the word *Alwastámk* means *nuqum*, "What Is Hidden." The essence of the rite, as explained to non-members, is that the supernatural power which has come to the dancer is embodied in three supernatural beings or in manifestations of them. Unless someone guesses its locations, the performer will die. The Mystery dance is one of the most lengthy Bella Coola rituals and necessitates such a lavish expenditure of food that only a rich man can undertake it.

Accounts were obtained of the ritual as carried out by *Xpeulēn i ol Tsmusil* and *Saiqvás* of Kimsquit, both of whom have the necessary prerogative. The details differ so slightly in the two localities that only one description need be given, and the dancer can be spoken of as X. The patron of most Mystery dancers is *Sánulkmukulx Ilquntám*, but that of *Saiqvás* is *Kukulaam*, a supernatural being remarkable for his wild and erratic behaviour.

When X has stored up as much food as he thinks necessary, he calls the marshals together to tell them of his desire to dance. In case of consent, they admonish him not to hurry matters but to perform the rite slowly and properly. Preliminary arrangements include the choosing of four *kukuxtal* gifted with good memories to store up in their minds the guesses made by the uninitiated. If many *kukuxtal* are anxious to dance, X usually asks permission on the night of a

2:McDougall E-5 (1922-1924) 1968
NEA Bellacoola NEA

[The Mystery Dance]

what are to be the correct answers? The marshals decide on these, but their judgment really depends on the four remembrancers who are able to tell whether any of the replies they suggest have already been given. When *Saiyndz* performed, the answers chosen were:

Kimalisa, "The Coming of Foul Weather." This word is said to be in the language of the supernatural ones. The implication is that this phenomenon of nature is a manifestation of the will of the supreme deity.

Nacpaxste Smaiaxtikla, "The Eagle Down *Smaiaxtikla*." This has the significance of "The Peace Giving *Smaiaxtikla*" since eagle down is a symbol of peace.

Kitlmaxtémem, "The Yawning Chasm." This is the mysterious crevasse which opens before a foolish man when he tries to gain success. In cases where a white man would attribute misfortune to lack of ability or to sheer bad luck, the Bella Coola say that this supernatural chasm has opened before him. It is especially applied to failure in the giving of potlatches.

Scarcely less important than the choice of answers is the second consideration, who is to give them. The uninitiated have been taught that X cannot live unless his riddles are answered, and also that whoever succeeds in solving them can do so only through supernatural assistance. As in the case of a person who finds a repository, so must the one who solves the problem be made a *haxiat*. This is an opportunity for an influential man with a son of suitable age and character to have him initiated into the society, and an eager parent can always be found. He is told the proper answers, and instructed to whisper them to his son the following evening. It is impressed upon the father that this must be done only at the last minute, and that every precaution must be taken to prevent the young man from telling his friends that he has been prompted.

Other matters are arranged at the same time. A shaman must be in readiness to assist in binding the future member of the society to secrecy, and every detail is worked out with care.

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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[The Dance of Thunder]

with short, mincing steps. At intervals he pulls forth his stinger and rushes at one of the spectators, poking the weapon at him and humming fiercely. The writer took the part of a supernatural mosquito at one of the dances held in the winter of 1922-3 and remembers the expression of fear on the face of a younger member of the audience when about to be "stung." The victim was certainly afraid on that occasion, and if that feeling could survive the break-down of belief, it is not to be wondered at that fear was universal in the days when the *kukwisut* were thought to be possessors of supernatural powers. Another being who often appears at a dance of Thunder is Rainwater-Dripping-from-the-Roof. The masked figure walks slowly around the fire and *Ant'lōtsulaxis* explains that this is the water which drops from a hole in the planking. The Clowns are never omitted, and always cause amusement amid the gravity of the rite. One after another, the supernatural beings appear from the enclosure, circle the fire, and withdraw, accompanied by the sage remarks of *Ant'lōtsulaxis*. Finally there is a long pause, broken when a masked figure slowly toddles forth. It is Snail, who started at the same time as the other supernatural beings but arrived too late to be present at the dance of Thunder. Snail circles the fire and disappears. At this point the uninitiated are expelled and the rite concludes as usual.

Dancers whose patrons are Thunder, Earthquake, Sun, or Moon do not confine their dances to the ceremonial season, but perform whenever a manifestation of their patron occurs. If Thunder is heard, no matter what the time of day or season of year, X stands up and cries out:

"It [he does not refer to Thunder by name] is dancing too lustily up aloft. *Xwe* ...."

The call *of xwe* ... is thought to have a quieting effect on Thunder. Any *kukwisut* women present at once dress, then, accompanied by a number of his associates, X proceeds to the lowest house of the village where the same ritual is repeated. This is done in every dwelling, after which X returns home and

A:McGilvraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NEA Bellacoola NEA

[The Dance of Thunder]

the uninitiated are expelled. If several *hahaiai* in the same village are protégés of Thunder, each makes a circuit independently, but they agree to meet afterwards in the house of one of their number. Here all members of the society assemble for a meal provided hurriedly by X, or to a number of meals if several have Thunder as patron; in this case there is no pooling of food. The marshals take the opportunity of giving their customary admonitions, as if it were midwinter. Next the singers combine their ideas and beat out a new song of which the theme is Thunder who never rests; it is worded as if X were speaking and describing what his patron is doing. This song is sung and resung until all present have learnt both tune and words. If there are several *hahaiai* with Thunder as patron, a song is made for each and practised in the same manner.

When all is ready, one of the heralds calls in the uninitiated. Each song is sung to the accompaniment of beating sticks while a dancer performs. Instead of X, this is an old man or woman who has not had a call for many years. Often the *hahaiai* selected is so old that he or she can dance only with the support of a stick; no reason could be learnt for this surprising deviation from the usual practice. If several songs have been composed, a new dancer performs to each. After the last dance the uninitiated are expelled and the *hahaiai* soon follow. Since no call has come, it follows that it is of a ceremonial, though not of a sacred nature, and does not take the regular course of winter dances. It is said to "make good the path of Thunder," the term employed being identical with that used for the dance on subsequent the burning of the masks.

Nothing more need be said about the Thunder dance, except to give the following origin myth:

Long ago, long before the white man came to this land, but still longer after its first settlement, four brothers left Kitsegukla to hunt mountain goats on Mount Tsegukla', near the Kitsequecla River.* It was September,

*This mountain is also known as Hump-back Salmon Mountain, its shape resembles the fish in question and it is said that long ago, in the very beginning of time, a salmon became petrified there.

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

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the goats were plentiful, fat, and unsuspicious, so that before nightfall they had killed four. Well satisfied, they lay down in a cave to sleep for the night. At that time no one knew what supernatural being caused thunder; the earliest inhabitants of the world had possessed that knowledge but it had been forgotten in the intervening generations. Towards midnight the hunters were awakened by a loud boom and wondered what could have caused it. Presently they saw approaching a figure resembling a man, with a weird non-human face, who carried in each hand a huge rock crystal.* He raised and lowered his arms as if pounding; at each movement the crystals struck each other, producing the booming sound and also emitting a flash of light. The eldest brother, *Saiks*, told the others to cover their faces with their blankets and to keep their eyes closed, because some evil and powerful creature was drawing near. But the second brother, who had caught a glimpse of the two crystals and greatly desired them, watched cautiously, hoping for an opportunity to steal them. Thunder, for it was none other, ranged around; at intervals he passed across to the other side of the intervening valley on a sidewalk which grew before his feet to form a bridge for him, and on it, too, he was able to retrace his steps. Several times Thunder crossed and recrossed, accompanied by reverberating peals. He came near the four brothers and danced; then lay down while fire emerged from his nostrils. The second brother began to feel scorched, gradually the heat increased, but he was powerless to move; before dawn, when Thunder vanished, he had been roasted to death.

The three survivors buried the dead man in a hastily made grave in the floor of the cave and went home, abandoning the mountain goats which they had killed. *Saiks*, though grieved at the loss of his brother, felt that the latter's death was his own fault for peeking when he had been warned not to do so. Not long afterwards the two younger brothers died. Then the sole survivor told a carpenter to make him a mask secretly, according to a design which he would describe. In this way the face of Thunder was portrayed in wood. When the mask was ready, *Saiks* wore it and gave an imitation of the actions of his patron; no one had ever seen anything like it and the people were amazed.

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No great antiquity is ascribed to this myth and it gives no explanation of questions which at once arise in the investigator's mind. The type is fairly common in Bella Coola; in fact, the only unusual part of it is that the visionary received a *Saiks* prerogative rather than one of the forms of good for-

*This is said to have been equivalent to the five-rattle of a Thunder dancer.

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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[424] mony three or four times.

THE SUN DANCE[94]

[776] One of the forms in which *Ălquntăm* appears is that of the
[821] Sun, and in that case he is referred to as *Sunxălotla*. Consider-
ing the importance of this deity, it is rather surprising that the *kusiut* dance of which he is patron is not more impressive. Efforts were made to obtain full details of the ceremonial from several informants, but only a number of incidents and a bare
[124] outline could be obtained. In part this was due to the fact that none of the informants[95] were themselves protégés of *Ălquntăm*, but this is not in itself sufficient to explain the comparative unimportance of the dance, since full accounts were obtained of other rituals from those who did not own them.

Nothing was learnt of the origin of any of the Sun dance
[424] prerogatives, except that ancestors of the owners obtained them
[551] from *Ălquntăm*. It is a common right, and *kukusiut* having *Ălquntăm* as patron are found in every village, among them being *Qoxolăn·i* of *Tcmotl*, and *Nexnexliwalaix* of *Nusqalst*. As far as could be ascertained, the ritual of various Sun dance performances is identical, so one account will suffice and the dancer can be termed X.

Like other *kusiut* dancers, X can perform at any time during the ceremonial season, subject to the approval of the marshals. The call comes to him in the normal manner, the uninitiated are expelled, and the *kukusiut* gather in his house to practise
[533] the songs which the singers have just composed. The theme
[776] is of *Ălquntăm*, describing his manifold functions, and particularly that of guiding the Sun. The following day a second song with similar theme is composed, and in the evening the tasks are allotted for the manufacture of masks. Four are re-
[532] quired; a large one representing *Ălquntăm* himself, one of
[171]

[94] Needless to say, no connection or similarity is implied with the dance of the same name in other areas.

[95] Except one man who had forgotten all details since his conversion to Christianity many years before.

2:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NEA Bellacoola NEA

[The Sun Dance]

Ano'likwoisaix, and two of the supernatural Clowns. In addition a white disk, about four feet in diameter, is ordered with a human face in the centre; this represents the Sun with *Alquntăm*. No detailed description is required until the night of *nakusam*.

The *kukusiut* gather in the dusk and summon the uninitiated as soon as all is in readiness. On entering, they see the huge and imposing figure of *Alquntăm* standing in the centre of the space behind the fire, flanked by a number of the most important *kukusiut* as if to pay respect to him. X stands immediately behind, repeatedly throwing one arm over *Alquntăm*'s head and crying *hoip* to soothe the visitor. The two Clowns move to and fro, all over the house, making what remarks they like as if they were spoilt children. *Ano'likwoisaix* stands on one side, explaining the meaning of it all, and giving the names of the supernatural beings represented. Suddenly the white disk appears against the back wall near the roof, slowly passes sunwise across the house, and disappears. The uninitiated recognize that it is not the Sun, but to them it seems miraculous that this body can move as it does, and they easily accept *Ano'likwoisaix*'s explanation that this is the way *Alquntăm* crosses the heavens. They do not know that for the last two days the carpenters have been exercising their ingenuity in arranging cords so that the object can be drawn across smoothly and steadily. Again the sun "rises," and crosses the back wall, only to disappear from sight. This is repeated twice more, making four times in all. It is said that sometimes the Sun is made to spin just before it "sets," but the method could not be learnt. At this juncture the uninitiated are sent home and the proceedings conclude as usual.

In addition to performing in the customary manner, X is required to dance on other definite occasions, without the coming of a call. According to some informants, X must sing of his patron at the beginning of the ceremonial season, coincidently with the protégé of *Nŏăkyum*. This is probably correct but details were unobtainable. In any case, when the

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[The Sun Dance]

dance of *Nusḵoxmc* is omitted owing to the large expenditure required, X must sing, without a call, in conjunction with the *Ḵ!ā'a* dancer. In this case also the details are lacking.

Likewise at the winter solstice, when the tarrying *Alpoxmc* at last enters *Nuxpalxmaicte* to greet the waiting supernatural *ḵuḵuxiut*, it is incumbent on his protégé to perform in his honour below. The singers are always ready with a new song for the occasion, and in the evening his fellows assemble in his house to learn it. X wears the usual ceremonial collar, but he lacks the awe-inspiring qualities of a *ḵuxiut* who has had a call. When the song has been sufficiently practised, the uninitiated are brought in to listen to it and to watch the dancing of X. At the conclusion of the performance they are given a little food, provided by X, which they carry away while the *ḵuḵuxiut* remain to eat at their ease and listen to the admonitions of the marshals. It is probable that the ritual carried out at the beginning of the ceremonial season is identical with the above. One old man stated that long ago it was customary to dance in the same manner at the summer solstice; this might be expected, but confirmation was unobtainable.

Like the protégé of Thunder, X is sometimes called upon to perform during the non-ceremonial season. But whereas a Thunder dancer acts when his patron is apparent by peals of sound, X must do so when his patron is invisible through an eclipse.[*] The ritual is almost identical with that already described for a Thunder dancer so nothing but additional details need be inserted. X visits every house shaking a rattle, which is not the case with Thunder dancers. After his circuit of the village, the *ḵuḵuxiut* gather in his house where the singers are composing a new song describing the phenomenon. The words explain that Eclipse, the supernatural being *Nuqtsly*', has blocked or destroyed the path of the Sun, and add how disastrous it would be if the Sun could not recover its way. Later on, the uninitiated are called in to watch X's dance which, like

[*] The Bella Coola term both for "eclipse" and the being responsible is *Nuqtsly*' which also means "A Fire That Has Died Out."

the one that takes place at a thunder-storm, is said to "make good the path" of the person. It would formerly have been a very serious offence for a Sun dancer not to perform at an eclipse; his failure would probably have been punished with death by the marshals. One informant vividly recalled his fears when he failed to perform at an eclipse soon after his conversion to Christianity, and reiterated that he had been in deadly peril from the marshals in spite of the white man's law.

THE MOON DANCE

The Sun is not the only heavenly body that acts as patron to *hoxiat* dancers, the Moon also has many human protégés. Among them is *Nakwimäs*, "The Moon When It Is Unobserved," of *Tsimsiat*, from whom the following account of the Moon dance was obtained. As usual, he can be spoken of as X.

The Moon dance can take place at any time during the ceremonial season, subject, of course, to X's wishes and the consent of the marshals. The coming of the call is heralded in the usual manner and the *hokwiat* presently assemble to learn the song just composed. It describes the following supernatural beings:

Aiaiäkwem:[97] A woman who lives in the moon and who can be seen in certain of its phases, always carrying a bucket of water.

The two *Aitpuaiat*: These two beings are able periodically to blacken the Moon's face, thus causing an eclipse.

The two *Saitxmäwa*:[98] These kindly women clean the Moon's face after it has been blackened. It is these beings who come to earth to assist stricken *hokwiat*.

The song also describes how no supernatural being dares to pass the Moon's house during an eclipse, a prohibition similar to that obeyed by uninitiated with regard to passing outside a house where a *hoxiat* ceremony is taking place.

[97] *Aiäkwem* is the usual term for ghost; no reason was given for the application of the same designation to the women living in the moon.

[98] There is difference of opinion among the Bella Coola as to whether or not there is more than one of these beings.

No detailed description is needed for the ceremonial as either *nuxnuxalkaq* or *qaiem*. On the evening of the former day the masks are ordered; one for *Kimsimun*, who appears to be confused with the Moon itself, one for each *Alpaunaet*, one for each *Snitemaic a*, and one for *Sne'tlemaleais*.

Late in the afternoon the *Sukaiet* assemble in X's house to see that everything is in good shape. A large mat has been spread across the back wall of the house and on it a disk representing the Moon, with a human face in the middle. After the usual discussion the uninitiated are called in. Each *Snitemaic a* remains standing alone in the two back corners of the house, while the two *Alpaunaet* are in the central space behind the fire, constantly waving their arms to and fro. Suddenly the Moon itself appears against the matting. A carpenter, concealed behind the screen, directs its course so that it moves in a short arc across the background and disappears; *Sne'tlemaleais* explains to the uninitiated that this is the track of the new Moon, low down on the horizon. A second time it "rises," and moves across in a longer and higher curve, which *Sne'tlemaleais* says is the longer orbit of the waxing Moon. On its third course it is still higher, and on its fourth appearance it moves across the full width of the house near the roof, which *Sne'tlemaleais* describes as the course of the full Moon, far above the mountains. She also explains that we are indebted to *Snitemaic a* for cleaning the Moon's face after the *Alpaunaet* have blackened it, as otherwise no light would be visible. This ends the spectacle; the uninitiated are sent away, and the ceremonial concludes in the manner already described.

This constitutes the Moon dance as practised during the ceremonial season, but in addition X is required to dance whenever his patron is hidden by an eclipse. On such occasions the ritual is identical with that described for an eclipse of the Sun.

THE DANCE OF THE MURDERED SLAVE

One of the chieftains who came to earth in the beginning of time was *Alkumetaxais*, whose wealth was so great that he was able to invite his associates from far and near to potlatches, and thus acquire many *sacred*

but the audience all understand that later performances by those with the same name are only possible with the assistance of carpenters. This dance has not been carried out for so many years that the details have been forgotten.

THE DANCE OF THE BIRDS

The Bella Coola notice that in autumn many of the birds disappear, to be seen no more until spring. Ignorant of a warmer climate to the south and of the causes of migration, they explain the phenomenon by saying that *Alquntăm* collects the birds in some mysterious place for the winter and releases them in the spring. It is believed that he does the same with supernatural birds in the land above. The setting free of the birds, which is in effect a scattering, is known as *nuxquxkuil* and is personified; he is the patron of a *kusiut* named *Quots*. For the ceremony of this man's dance a huge circular cage containing wooden birds is constructed. By means of a regular maze of hidden strings they are made to "fly," to the extreme amazement of the uninitiated. This is one of the most complicated *kusiut* rites. Contrary to the usual practice, no eagle down is used for fear that it might settle on the strings and betray their existence to the spectators.

THE DANCE OF DARKNESS AND SLEEP

The patron of this dance is a being who has the power of bringing nightfall, and later, sleep. In accordance with his double function, a dual personality is attributed to him. In fact, he is almost two beings; as *Sunqlominit*, "Darkness," he causes night to come once every twenty-four hours, whereupon as *Sintlomx*, he brings sleep. His *kusiut* protégé displays on ceremonial figures with black painted masks, representing both phases of his patron.

THE DANCE OF THE WHIRLWIND

Whirlwinds, though of rare occurrence in British Columbia, are known to the Bella Coola who believe that they are caused by the being *Snaxiarmanem*. Like all supernatural creatures,

2:38: Boas E-9 (1922-1924) 1968
NEB Bellacoola NEB

Whirlwind usually remains in the land above but sometimes visits this earth. He is patron for a *kusiut* who displays a mask representing him in characteristic form, the design of which is said never to vary.

THE DANCE OF THE EARTHQUAKE

The Bella Coola believe that an earthquake is caused by the earth slipping very slightly from the grasp of *Snōnis*. This being is patron for certain *kusiut* and whenever a tremor occurs, his *protégés* call their associates and a dance is held. This may, of course, be at any season, and the ritual during spring or summer is identical with that described for dancers whose patrons are Thunder, the Sun, or the Moon. The theme of the song is of the manner in which *Snōnis* performs his function of holding the world. A call from *Snōnis* may also come in the normal manner to one of his *protégés* during the ceremonial season, but the ritual is of the usual type and merits no special description. In Kimsquit, *Snōnis* is patron to a *kusiut* named *Alilhalkelais*.

THE DANCE OF TIDE-MEASURER

The height to which the tides shall rise is decided by a male supernatural being, *Mustlato ɬsum*, "Tide-Measurer." He is patron of a *kusiut* named *Tsēl*, whose repository is near *Sūtlis*. One of *Tsēl*'s ancestors brought the rite with him from above in the beginning of time. The songs used at the dance describe how Tide-Measurer uses a stick in deciding how far the waters shall rise. During the day of *nuhusam* the uninitiated are told to go to their houses but, by peering round the corners and through chinks, as they always do, they are able to see a masked figure walk into the ocean, and thrust down to the bottom a stick which he carries. This is repeated four times during the day.

THE DANCE OF THE SUPERNATURAL BULL-HEAD

Since any supernatural being can act as patron to *kusiut* dancers, and since all mammals and birds are, in a sense, super-

natural, any of them can act in this capacity, though it is usually added that the animal in question is the one resident in the land above. One patron of this type is the ordinary river bull-head. It is said that long ago this fish wanted to follow his friends, the salmon, to the ocean, but was persuaded to remain in the river to act as nurse to their children in his house, the river bottom. Early in the world's history he objected to people exposing his dwelling, that is, pulling up the stones from the river-bed where he was wont to lie, and showed his resentment by sending a very cold wind. Ever since that time boys are not allowed to fish for bull-heads in winter. As far as could be learnt, this dance has no special features.

THE DANCE OF THE SUPERNATURAL HERRING-HEAD

One of the supernatural beings living in the land above who is patron for a certain *kusiut* is the head of a female herring. Little is known of this being, even her appearance is subject to doubt. For the *nukwum* of her protégé, a number of masks representing herring, as well as human-like beings, are prepared. When the uninitiated are present, one of the disguised figures calls to his fellows to bring their nets and capture the fish.

THE DANCE OF THE SUPERNATURAL DOG SALMON

Another fish dwelling in the land above is *Dukdukûwaz*, the supernatural dog salmon. He is patron of some *kusiut* but the ritual of the dance, known as *ornâwaunais*, was not obtained. The similarity between *Dukdukûwaz* and *Dukdukûwemem*, those who await *Nokkpum*, appears merely to be an accidental resemblance in terminology, dependent upon a stem meaning "to come," or "coming." The significance of this in connection with the supernatural dog salmon could not be ascertained.

THE DANCE OF *Almoqtaiktla*

In Kimsquit it is believed that *Ano'likwoltsaix* has a husband, *Almoqtaiktla*, who is patron for several *kusiut* dancers. His function is to restore to life any uninitiated who chance to

Jacobsen B-9 (1912-1924) 1908
NEW Bellacoola MSS

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stumble upon a cemetery and are smitten down by his wife. Like a shaman, he does this by blowing violently upon the back of the victim's neck and calling out, *hoip*. From constant repetition his mouth has become large and round. When displayed on *nalaxam*, the mask representing *Atmoqualtsila* is painted black and has bulging, blown-out cheeks, and a round protruding mouth as if in the act of blowing. Neither the dance nor belief in this figure appear to occur in Bella Coola itself.

THE DANCE OF THE SUPERNATURAL BARK-SLICER

In the land above there lives a supernatural woman who spends all her time in pounding cedar-bark such as is used, either dyed or undyed, for ceremonial objects of different kinds. Her name is *Ilpiklstem di Xemxemtsila* and she is patron for various *kukwisut*. On the *nalaxam* of her Kimsquit prodigal she appears as a masked figure engaged in her usual occupation and makes a circuit of the house while a salmon is displayed. The relationship between this being and the salmon is problematical, and it is uncertain whether or not the same rite is practised in Bella Coola.

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THE DANCE OF THE SUPERNATURAL AWAKENER

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Every morning in *Nuxalwaiatc* the woman *Spaispaxnamde-a* goes around waking up the supernatural beings. She is patron for several *kusiut* dancers. On the *nalaxam* of her prodigal, a masked figure representing the Awakener goes to every house in the village and pounds on the doors, but does not enter, to the relief of the uninitiated who have sought refuge within the bed-rooms.

THE DANCE OF DAWN

Not only must the supernatural beings be aroused in the morning, but every day the Sun himself must be requested to appear; this is done by the beings known as *Xemxemtsum*, who are patrons for several *kukwisut*. On *nalaxam* they appear and *Awa'kkwulnais* explains to the uninitiated who they are and

[521]

J. McDermott B-3 (1910-1926) 1948
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Qmaiwaka·i moved to and fro among the chiefs as they were busying themselves in preparations for leaving, and drew to herself the spirit of every one of the party. As they pushed off from the shore, she put them on a board which she set afloat behind them. It capsized in the first rapids, recovering the various spirits, and presently the canoes were again and their occupants all drowned. The six orphans continued to live at *Stuie* where they intermarried with the poor people and in time the village increased in population and fully regained its old importance.

This myth has many points of resemblance with those described in vol. I, chap. xv. Each of the six orphans, and especially *Qmaiwaka·i*, received the boon of supernatural good fortune, but the presents given to the five took the form of a fourth prerogative. The names so received are either in use at the present time or have but recently become dormant. *Nuxtin* was used by the father's brother of the woman who related the story; *Sisaq* [illegible] belongs to her son, a boy about eight years old; *Nuxnux* is the property of another youth, related to the family; *nuxw* has been lent to a friend, subject to recall at any time, and *Qmaiwaka·i* is used by a girl relative about twenty years of age. Each of these has the prerogative of carrying out the dance given to their ancestor at *Stuie*, long ago.

ORIGIN MYTH OF THE DANCE OF THE SUPERNATURAL CARPENTERS[xx]

In the beginning *Alpaxsim* went down to a point on the upper reaches of the Clearwater four brothers, *Nisdzumdzis*, *Wistaxum*, *Alpaxsim*, and *Sisi·k·dzis* with several sisters whose names have been forgotten. They thought they were the first to reach this earth but presently, to their sorrow, saw *Tsitsumdzis*, a man who had preceded them, and the women cried bitterly in their mortification. *Alpaxsim* had given *Nisdzumdzis* shamanistic power which he now used as he rubbed his hands over his sisters' faces to carry away their tears.

"Become fog," he said, as he held the palms of his tear-stained hands towards the head of the *Tsi·qa·ai* people.

[121] That is why there are thick fogs in the vicinity of Alert Bay to the present day.

Nisdzumdzis and his relatives moved a short distance down the valley

[115]

[xx] Related by Snumbost Annie.

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[824]

[778]

[776]
[821]

[773]
[823]

[773]

J. McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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#583 756

(c) Recorded as song VII D 45b, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard.

(d) That is: The supernatural one held me in his carefully cupped hands. The shaman is recited as if the shaman were speaking and describing the way he was carried away to some far-off spot for treatment.

Fragment of a Song Used by Ălhaiyaxtem, a Bella Coola Woman(a)

Ăwaxtĕkmăthaxtĕkdu Laughed	*ai̯ăwaxaya ap[illegible] Song[illegible](d)*	*dăxaxpaixinqălte* when they(c) hovered	*ălhaiyaxtĕdet my sire as shaman(b).*

[remainder covered]

Kaiăxdaitu
Ten how wretched I am(e).

The rest of this song has been forgotten.

(a) Recorded as song VII D 45a, National Museum of Canada; singer, Lame Charlie.

(b) That is: The sky laughed. Shamans often use grandiloquent expressions such as this.

(c) Refers to supernatural beings in general.

(d) It is not known how this woman received her power except that it was from a salmon.

(e) The singer entered fully into the spirit of this song, and ended his singing by calling out these words and chattering his teeth as shamans are wont to do.

Fragment of a Song Used by Kaxiyat, a Bella Coola Woman(a)

Sxaxstăla The sun(b),	*Sxaxstăla* the sun,	*dămăxtudet* is our father	*eaaa (c)!*

The rest of this song has been forgotten(d).

821 776 788

(a) Recorded as song VII D 34a, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard.

(b) This is the sun's name as chief.

(c) The meaning of this word is unknown. When the song was sung, the people used to follow the shaman to the river and throw water over themselves four times, accompanied by the crying out of this word.

(d) It seems highly probable that incoherent songs such as this were commonly used by shamans. *Kaxiyat* herself is supposed to have derived her power from *Thlaxpliitsa*, but no explanation could be learnt for the rite of washing.

The most fragmentary of all shaman songs are those used by *snăxom*. . Although the last survivor of this type of visionary died many years ago, all the older Bella Coola state

2:38:Dorothy E-5 (1922-1924) 1908
NEA Bellacoola NEA

Fourth Song Used for Snaxáx'ila, a Bella Coola Pungee Dancer(s) 533*

A Dzaxáx'ayaxyaxmas | *yas xdzaxáxlas* | *dzigwaxáxmaxdzáxk*
Has now recovered | the *Saxúat* woman(ñ), | after they(c) expand

waxdlaxáxdzáxk
the heavy burden(d).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

B Xlaxiga xdzáxaxdzáxa | *dzaxáxdzáx waxdzaxáxdzáx* | *dzáxdzáxaxagadzáx*
There is light at the edge(e), | looks down | the much revered

xdzáxdzáxdzáxdzáx
Moon(f).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

C Wa'xdzáxdzáx xagadzáxa | *dzáxdzáxdzáxaxagadzáx* | *dzáxdzáxdzáxaxa xdzáxdzáx*
They(g) become frightened | of that *Saxúat*(ñ) | whenever he displays

dzagagdzáxagadzáxa
his blackened face(i).

(a) Recorded as song VII D 10, National Museum of Canada, MSS, Fillo Charlie, Reuben Schooner, and Snowshoe Annie. This song, composed by Nukwhatkwaxtan, was used during the *Saxúat* season of 1923-4.

(b) That is: The *Saxúat* woman, the dancer, has now recovered. The implication is that she was grievously stricken when the power first came, before she knew what was required of her.

(c) Referring to the supernatural beings.

(d) Referring to the Pungee.

(e) Referring to the edge of *Sesq'ut*.

(f) That is: The much revered Moon looks down. The Moon is one of the dancer's patrons and the song asserts that he looked down on her when he heard that she was in trouble. "Much revered" refers to the attitude with which she regards her patron. [796]

(g) Referring to all *Saxúat*, human as well as supernatural.

(h) Referring to Moon.

(i) That is: Whenever he blackens his face. At an eclipse the face of the moon is said to become blackened, and the song implies that this is done deliberately by Moon in order to perform a *Saxúat* dance. [796] [821]

Song Used for Saiyaás, a Kimsquit Mystery(a) Dancer(j)

A Sdzáxlaxtaxaxdzáx | *yaxlaxtaxtaxdzáx* | *alákpa'dzáxdzáxag'*
Stand firm and be brave, | mortals(r), | when you guess(s)

dzáxdzáx'agadzáxdzáx
its place of concealment(r).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

(a) This is addressed to the uninitiated, one of whom has guessed correctly.
(b) The assumption is that this has been done with the aid of *Awaqanoxkwan*.
(c) Referring to the supernatural beings above.
(d) That is: To seize the supernatural drawing cry.
(e) The reference is to *Sisi'ulalis Hiyaxsiwas*, the dancer's power. The meaning of the whole passage is obscure but seems to be as follows: *Sisi'ulalis Hiyaxsiwas* was perturbed at the coming of the call to his protégé and, to help them follow, the other supernatural beings called upon *Sisiyuwa'a* to drum. This would be a leading allusion and would, therefore, enable human beings to solve the mystery. The phraseology is consciously obscure.

Song Used for White Submarine(a), a Bella Coola Thunder Dance(b)

A *Skwaxilayaxwaxwaxsk*	*dzikwakdzixw sisiksi*	*ciyayaxwaxw silkwaxksi*
I have just heard	(the) coming down,	it changes its voice

skwaksiksiksk
above our heads(c).

[illegible removed]

B *Skwaxwaxlwaxlilkwa*	*dlkwaxlaxwaxwaxsk*	*yax skwaksiwaksiksiksi*
They asked plainly	the dancer(d)	to lead the frenzied hearing of wicks(e)

wawaksiwaksk
at the gathering of the supernatural beings in the land above.

[illegible removed]

C *Saxlkwaxwaxwaxlkwa*	*waksiksiwaksiksiwaxw*	*dzawaxsiksiWaxlwaxksi*
Too many to be seen	are those called(g);	when they increased

dzaxwayaxsiksiwaxsiksiksiksi
the voice(h).

(a) The Bella Coola name of the dancer was unfortunately omitted.
(b) Recorded as song VII D 57, National Museum of Canada; quartet, Reuben Schooner, leader, Jim Pollard, accompanist and prompter, assisted by *Tal'a* Charlie and Steamboat Annie. This song was composed for, and used during the *hamatsa* season of 1923-4.
(c) Referring to the call.
(d) It is doubtful whether this statement is more than a rhetorical device to impress the uninitiated.
(e) Referring to Thunder.
(f) Thunder, one of the most powerful of the supernatural *hamatsa*, has the prerogative of leading the orchestra of stick beaters to "cure" a fellow-dancer. The song states that his fellows requested him to perform this function.
(g) That is: So many are in attendance that they cannot be recognized. The reference is to Thunder's dance in the land above, for which the supernatural *hamatsa* assemble from all directions.
(h) The allusion is to the rain which follows Thunder's dance.

Song Used for Hamats'a, a Bella Coola Thunder(a) Dancer(b)

A [illegible] | [illegible]

I cannot tell whence comes what(c) I hear, I cannot tell where it is, there is nothing but fog above, I am to vomit(d).

(WHISTLES SOUNDS)

B [illegible] | [illegible]

The hands of everyone helped T'alelemal(e) in the wonderful works he was doing for himself, all wanted him to do the same for them(f).

(WHISTLES SOUNDS)

C [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible]

Is moving again | the fire-holder(g), | it is being shaken by

[illegible]

Thunder (h).

(a) *Hamats'a* has two patrons, Thunder and T'alelemal. During the winter of 1913-4 he was initiated into the *hamats'a* society as a Thunder dancer, to the following song, reference is made to both his patrons, but he would have to be introduced once more, with a second name, before he could dance with respect to T'alelemal.

(b) Recorded as song VII D 11, National Museum of Canada; quarter, Reuben Johnson, leader, Jim Pollard, announcer and interpreter, assisted by Tal'o Charlie and Steamfoot Annie. This song, composed by Tal'o Charlie, was used during the *hamats'a* season of 1913-4.

(c) Referring to the call.

(d) It was impossible to obtain an individual translation for each of these subdivisions.

(e) One of the dancer's patrons.

(f) It was impossible to obtain an individual translation for each of these subdivisions.

(g) That is: The fire-holder is moving again. The reference is to the article shaken by Thunder which causes lightning. In dances, this is shown as a hollow cystic containing smouldering cedar-bark of which fragments are scattered in all directions.

(h) The dancer's second patron.

Fragment of a Song Used for Nuxnux-mahsmis, a Bella Coola Ghost Dancer(a)

A [illegible] | [illegible]

Why is there no name(b)? | Each(c) speaks proudly of himself(d);

[illegible] | [illegible]

they use as house posts(e) | their shin-bones.

(WHISTLES SOUNDS)

The rest of this song has been forgotten.

[illegible] [illegible]

8 [illegible] I was not good enough(a)	[illegible] when none to me	[illegible] my parents,	593*

[illegible]
I said him so.

[illegible]

9 [illegible] We two passed outside his house(c)	[illegible] within sight	[illegible] where blackened his face	

[illegible]
Mawa(f).

(a) This song, composed by Roulom Salwanen, was sung during the burial season of 1923-4.
(b) It was impossible to obtain individual translations for these three sub-divisions.
(c) The reference is to the soul. The meaning of this whole first part is highly problematical, the references are intentionally obscure to impress the uninitiated.
(d) That is: I did not have sufficient goods to distribute for a ceremony.
(e) The theme here changes from a description of the dancer's experiences to an account of his parent's actions in the land above.
(f) That is: When Mawa, the dancer's parent, blackened his face, we two passed [796] [784] [821]
cross within sight of his house. As uninitiated are forbidden to pass in front of a dwelling in which a Kuwat dance is taking place, as supernatural beings avoid the vicinity of Mawa's house where he is performing. The blackening of the face refers to an eclipse, but has no added significance since it is an instruction of a dance.

As already described (II, p. 119), the Otter dance differs from most *Kuwat* rites and the songs are likewise peculiar. They do not vary from year to year and the following example, used during the season of 1913-4, contains many points of an unusual nature, not even understood by the participants themselves. It has only two parts, each with a different tune, and the performer carried out her rite by dancing in two distinct ways. In the first part, she raised and lowered her fore-arms as is customary, but followed this with a smoothing motion, as if she were levelling upturned earth. The significance of this seems to have been forgotten entirely.

593* [575] [796] [585]

Song Used for Kuwaluwi, a Female Kimaqsit Otter Dance(a)

1 *Hiwawhqudus* It has always been so,	*yaa dsiyaxyawudus* it(b) has no shame(c),	*xwaxtgaksxwawudus* all are it	

2; McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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A Song to Mixed Carrier(a)–Bella Coola(b)

cshawaus-i	*cshawaus-i*	*cwaistsailjo*	*cswawaus-i*
cshawaus-i(c),	*cshawaus-i*,	*i(d)*	*i*

skaistlakho	*skaistlakho*	*skaistlakho*
?	?	?

nsqaus	*cshawaus-i*
the very hairy pudenda	*cshawaus-i(e).*

(a) It is uncertain whether this song was derived from the Carrier or the Chilkotin.

(b) Recorded as song VII D 10b, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard.

(c) The anthropomorphized supernatural cold wind, resident in the upper Bella Coola. The old trail from the interior passed through the valley and the word must have been familiar to the Indians of the interior.

(d) The words marked with queries are all in Carrier (or Chilkotin).

(e) This third part of the song is called forth loudly, not sung, and always gives rise to laughter. It means: *cshawaus-i* has hairy pudenda, a reference to the luxuriant growth of bushes and grass in the valley where she is localized.

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821]

A Carrier Song(a)

This song is said to have been used at some ceremonial at Ulkatcho, in the Carrier country. The rite is spoken of as a potlatch, although the Bella Coola state that it differed entirely from one of their own potlatches, and that every guest brought his own song. The words are:

atl	*tsuzuls*
Knife,	none at all.

(a) Recorded as song VII D 10c, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard.

The Bella Coola have no idea of the meaning of this song.

2: McIlwraith E-9 (1922-1924) 1948
NEA Bellacoola NEA

1534 "Cut him to pieces," she said, "as you would with salmon preparatory to smoking."

Mink was in the canoe and heard her injunction. He willed that the captain should steer a course near the shore, and when the canoe was rounding a point he jumped overboard and succeeded in reaching the land, where he sought refuge. The raiders chased him on shore so hotly that Mink was finally forced to hide in a small hole under the rocks, but on entering it he took with him some shell-fish. One of the pursuers, seeing the hole, thrust his spear down into it, but Mink smeared on this the entrails of the shell-fish. When the raiders saw the gore on the spear they concluded they had killed him and went off.

As soon as his enemies had gone away, Mink sneaked out and grabbed the old woman by the back of the neck, yelling in her ear:

"What did you call out to the raiders?"

"I told them to take good care of you," she replied, "that you were like a son to me."

"Did you indeed?" said Mink, who had heard perfectly what she said.

First he bit off her legs, then chewed to pieces the rest of her body, shredding it into scraps which he threw into the water, telling them to become crabs.

This is the origin of crabs.

THE FIRE

About three generations after the first people had come to this earth, Mink went up to *Nusmāt·a* and asked *Ālquntām* to lend him his robe, so that he might take his place as sun. The request was granted, but, once [821] given control of the sun, Mink guided the canoe-like luminary so close to earth that the rivers and oceans boiled, and it was only in the glaciers that the people were able to exist. At Kimsquit a man and his dog were turned to stone; it is said that they can still be seen in this form.[171]

Animals as well as men suffered from Mink's wickedness. Grizzly Bear's coat was singed to its present rusty colour; Weasel tried to hide himself but failed to draw in the end of his tail which was burnt black, a mark still carried by all his descendants; Clam closed his shell for protection and so was blackened only at its orifice; all the other creatures suffered in various ways.

[171] . "A similar belief is said to be shared by the Cowichan people of Vancouver Island. About 1900, a considerable amount of charred wood was found four feet beneath the surface of the ground, on the mountain west of the Necleetsconnay River. The Bella Coola consider this to be proof of the disaster.

2;McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

replaced it with stones. Finally they put the feet back into their original position and fastened down the lid. Before leaving, they put some morsels of meat on the teeth of Jay, who was lying with his mouth open. 539*

When the fire had died down, Jay awoke and said to his anus:

"Jay, I think the food must be ready. The fire has burnt low."

He went to the pot and grasped one leg, which came away easily; then did the same with several birds.

"Yes," he said, "the legs come away easily; the food must be ready."

But when he lifted the cover he found nothing but stones. Great was his surprise, especially since there was a taste of food in his mouth. Thoughtfully he picked his teeth.

"I must have had a meal after all," he said.

Then he felt his stomach.

"No, I can't have eaten."

Again as he picked his teeth his perplexity increased.

"I must have eaten," he muttered.

But his empty stomach drove him to the conclusion that he had not.

Deciding that his anus must have played a practical joke on him, he determined to punish it severely. He built a blazing fire, then turned his back to it and began to toast his rump. Alas! As the culprit suffered, so did Jay himself.

When he could bear the pain no longer he fled.

HERRING AND OLACHEN

Long ago, Herring had a small dorsal fin near his tail, as do olachen, trout, and salmon at the present time. At that period Olachen had no fin, but on his head a large mass of unruly hair which defied his efforts to brush it. The two agreed to trade, Olachen giving some of his grease for Herring's fin. That is why, today, Herring has no fin on his back, as Olachen has, and why the head alone of the former is greasy.

THE DEFEAT OF COLD WIND

539* 821

Soon after the first people had come down to this earth, while they were still semi-human, many were killed by Cold Wind, who destroyed all the berries and green things, so that both men and animals were in dire straits for food. A meeting was held at which it was unanimously decided to attack Cold Wind, an enormous black-skinned man, living far to the north. A war-party set out but though some members of it penetrated nearly to his house, they were driven back by the severe cold.

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

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On their return they asked Halibut for his help, and he agreed to join a second expedition. This set off, many thousands strong, all the men and all the animals. Warned by previous experience, they wore heavy clothing, but in spite of it, many of them froze to death as they drew near Cold Wind's house. Those that finally reached it saw their enemy lying on his back and blowing a cold current from his anus. The young and brave men rushed in and pinioned their enemy on his back before he was aware of their approach. Halibut took up his position outside the door.

"What do you mean by killing mortals?" he said. "I am going to kill you for your evil deeds."

Cold Wind suddenly exerted his strength, threw off the puny men who were trying to hold him down, and rushed out of his house. But he did not notice Halibut, who was lying down just outside, and stepped on him, so that, slipping, he fell with a crash. This time everyone seized him so securely that he could not escape.

A general cry was raised, "Kill him quickly!"

"Please don't do that," said Cold Wind. "I will promise to blow for only one month in the year."

"No! No! Let us kill him immediately," cried his captors.

"I'll blow only for twenty days," offered Cold Wind.

"No! He must be killed," said the warriors. "We don't want to talk."

Cold Wind, terrified, offered in succession to blow for only ten days, four days, two days, and one day, but each proposal was greeted with howls for his instant death. At last when Cold Wind offered to blow gently in the mornings of one month, his captors agreed to release him.

That is why *tsinin&wd*, the cold wind of the early morning, blows in March.

THE DEFEAT OF COLD WIND
(*Second Version*)

Long, long ago there was no summer and nothing grew in the land. All living creatures suffered from the perpetual ice, so they decided to attack Cold Wind who was responsible for this state of affairs. A raiding party set out, comprising all the plants, all the mammals, all the fish, all the birds, and all the men. They travelled to the north, where the cold grew so intense that the party suffered severely from it. Near Cold Wind's house, Halibut spoke to his comrades:

"I can deal with him more easily than anyone else. When he comes out of his house, make a noise to distract his attention, while I wriggle on my back towards him, to trip him up."

This plan was agreed upon. When they reached their destination, Cold Wind came running down a ladder from his house to send more frost

2:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

and cold to destroy the reckless creatures who had dared to oppose him. While he was climbing down, the attackers called out, attracting his attention, so that Halibut was able to wriggle, unobserved, to a place at the bottom of the ladder. As Cold Wind trod upon him, Halibut moved, and his antagonist fell to the ground. He was seized by his enemies before he could rise to release more cold.

"What have you against me?" he asked them. "I visit you only twelve months in the year."

"That is too often," his captors replied, as they stretched him out on the ground to kill him.

"If you spare me I will visit you for nine months only," Cold Wind made offer.

Again he was told that was too much, and he must be killed. Cold Wind, terrified, proposed coming for shorter and shorter periods, six months, four months, two months, and finally for a single month, but each offer was refused, and followed by threats of instant death. At length the captors accepted his agreement to come only in the early morning.

That is why, to this day, the cold wind comes only in the early morning.

Smmq Stories

Of the supernatural animals which the Bella Coola believe inhabit the wild glens and mountains of British Columbia, that which figures most prominently in their mythology is the *smmq*. There are four slightly different varieties of this monster. The most common is regarded as being about the size of a large grizzly bear, but with long front legs and short hind ones, on which it can run in upright position when it so desires. Its legs terminate in large talons resembling those of an eagle, with the thumb set opposite to the fingers; its pelt, long and fleecy, is of a grayish-blue colour. The monster is able to roll its eye-balls completely over, and, when the reverse side is exposed, there shoot forth dazzling beams of light which strike senseless anyone on whom they fall. It uses its eyes for hunting. The most peculiar feature of the *smmq*, however, is that it carries on its back a basket provided with spikes inclined inwards and downwards at such an angle that any living creature thrust within is unable to escape. The basket

2:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

on her, until, when she was just before him, she threw down the whet-stone; it became a massive stone rampart entirely hiding her. 539*

She continued her journey and presently came to a house, through a crack in the wall of which she saw a man. It was *Âḳunstm*, but she was not aware of this. He sensed her presence and greeted the girl:

"I have known for some time that you would come, for you have fled from your home in trouble. I have been waiting for you, you shall be my wife. Don't be afraid; come in."

The girl slowly entered though almost driven back by the great heat. *Âḳunstm* rubbed his hands over her face and at once she ceased to feel it. The two sat down and had supper together very happily. Presently Stump appeared.

"Have you seen my wife?" he roared through the doorway.

"Perhaps this is she," replied *Âḳunstm*. "Come in and see."

Stump's head was so big that he could not get through the door, but, by craning his neck, he could see that it was his lost wife inside, and he called out that she was there. *Âḳunstm* wrapped his blankets around himself and went to the door, then suddenly threw them open, whereupon the heat was so great that Stump's branching head caught fire. He was consumed entirely, not even ashes were left.

The girl lived happily with *Âḳunstm*, soon giving birth to a son. The infant grew with such remarkable speed that when he was the size and had the appearance of a child of three, he had the intelligence of a man. Realizing that his mother was lonely and sometimes wished to see her parents, he told his father of this; *Âḳunstm* was grateful for the suggestion.

"Don't fret," he said to his wife. "Your mother is not far away."

The woman looked down and saw her home as if it were just beneath her feet.

"If you want to visit your mother," continued her husband, "you can do so on my eye-lashes."

By "eye-lashes" he meant the beams of the sun on which the thoughts of mortals penetrate to *Âḳunstm*. [821]

Next morning the woman took her child, descended on *Âḳunstm's* eye-lashes and soon landed at the door of her father's house. Her mother was weeping, as indeed she had done incessantly since the loss of her daughter. The girl did not enter at once, but rapped with a stick on the wall near where her mother was sitting. The woman thought that someone was being mischievous and sent a little girl of six to investigate.

"It is my sister, with a baby," she called out as she came running back.

"Don't lie to me," the mother answered. "It is impossible, your sister has been dead for more than a year."

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*539 into a mist which so utterly blinded and confused Lake-Swallower that he was forced to abandon the pursuit. Without further difficulty the four sisters reached home, where they were received with great rejoicing, especially when their friends heard of the dangers through which they had passed.

THE SUN'S CAPTOR

*539 821 Long, long ago, a woman was sitting on the ground with her back to the sun, who noticed her. He came down and rubbed his hand over her back, causing her to become pregnant, then went back to his station above. The child grew so rapidly that the woman bore a son before the usual period had elapsed. This little boy grew with phenomenal rapidity. One day he asked his mother if he might go up to see his father, and when she consented, he built a long ladder up which he climbed until he reached the land above. When the sun drew near, his son spoke to him, saying that his mother had allowed him to come up to see him, and suggesting that he bring her on a later visit. The father agreed and the boy descended to his mother on earth.

A few days later, when the lad and his mother climbed above, the sun disregarded them entirely, and continued his course without seeming to be aware of their presence. Angry at his father's callousness, the lad asked his mother to give him a pubic hair with which to make a noose to catch the sun.

"Don't be silly," she answered. "The great heat will burn it."

Her son persisted until she finally gave him a single hair from between her legs. This he rolled into a rope with a noose at the end, and hung it from a stick in the course of his father. When the sun came along he was fairly caught in the noose. Thus restrained, he could no longer shine on the earth; the people were filled with wonder, though they were rather thankful, as heretofore there had been perpetual summer.

"It is your son who has caught you," said the boy to his captive father. "You thought yourself too strong. The people down below do not want you to shine all the time; if I release you, you must hide yourself at regular intervals."

The sun agreed to do this. Then the lad untied the noose and the captive went off in his wonted path. To regulate his father's movements, [823] and to ensure his remaining at a safe distance during the winter, the lad raised high mountains at Kimsquit, Ulkatcho, and Legue, which still limit the sun's course.

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THE SUN'S CHILD

Very long ago there lived at *Stuix* a chief whose daughter, Copper, was a source of perpetual worry to him. The girl was restless and disobedient, always wandering off by herself and being on too friendly terms with men. At last the father, losing his patience, told Copper to go her own way, that he would have nothing more to do with her. She wandered about, aimlessly, from place to place until she came to a road leading up to a large house within which was a man; it was the dwelling of the supreme deity, but the girl did not know this. *Älquntäm* asked her to come in, surprised her by calling her by name, and talked to her about the trouble she had had with her father. In this way Copper discovered the identity of her host. She stayed with him that night, and in the morning he told her to go home.

"How?" she asked.

"On the power of my eye," replied *Älquntäm*.

With that he opened a hole in the side of his house and sent her sliding down to her father's upon one of his eye-lashes, a sunbeam. Though Copper had spent but a single night with *Älquntäm*, it was equivalent to a year upon the earth and in that time she had conceived, passed through the period of pregnancy and given birth to a male child of whom *Älquntäm* was the father. Copper carried the infant with her on returning to her own home, outside of which she waited until a younger sister chanced to see her. The little girl rushed to her mother saying:

"Copper has come back!"

The old woman did not believe her and was angry. When another of Copper's sisters had confirmed the news, the mother believed it and was glad. Copper told them to spread clean sand on the floor for herself and her child, then, removing a board from the roof, she entered the house from above.

As time went on Copper's son throve and grew big enough to play with other little boys. But he had inherited from his father some of the heat-giving power of the sun so that he burnt his playmates who were naturally angry and showed their resentment by calling him a bastard. Mortified at this insult, the child told his mother, who instructed him to prepare a bow and a large number of arrows. When he had done so, she told him to shoot upwards. His first arrow went so high it stuck in the floor of *Song*[w] itself. He sent up arrow after arrow and each lodged at the base of its predecessor, until a ladder was formed to the land above. Up this the boy climbed, each arrow falling to the ground as soon as he had transferred his weight to the one immediately above. On reaching the upper regions, the lad proceeded to the house of his father and told

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*539 •821 him how unhappy he was, because people on earth called him a bastard.

"Never mind, my son," said *Ălqunŭm*. "Presently, I will let you do my work and then you will be more powerful than anyone on earth."

Next morning the father sent the lad off to act as sun, giving him the usual supply of heat. But the boy was so angry with the people on earth that he increased this supply, hoping to burn up the whole of them. Seeing some children at play, he swooped down to slay them; it became so hot that water boiled in the lakes and rivers and the whole race of mankind was roasted to death. Most of the animals escaped by hiding in burrows, but not the black bear, who at that time had a white coat. It [825] was burnt black and has remained that colour ever since, while the grizzly was scorched to his present rustiness. The deer and the weasel failed to hide their tails, both of which were burnt; that is why each has a black tip to this day.

Ălqunŭm, angry at his son for killing everybody, restored all to life, and broke the malicious child into countless pieces which he threw down [825] to earth in the form of mosquitoes.

Catastrophic Stories

538 Disasters which occurred in the distant past provide themes for stories of a non-ceremonial nature.

THE FAMINE

*539 *Kā'kŭn·a* was a Kimsquit man who made a practice of watching the sun; from its movements he was able to foretell the solstices and other coming events. One winter, long ago, the sun, instead of stopping at its usual place, continued far beyond its proper course. *Kā'kŭn·a* was much worried and prophesied strange changes, with famine; he called on the young men to weep, but instead they merely laughed at him. Next summer, when there was plenty of fish, berries, and other foods, the people jeered at the prophet. For four years there was the same plentiful hunting and collecting, but in the fifth came a great change. It failed to become warm in April; the berries flowered, but the constant cold wind prevented their fruit from ripening. Few fish entered the river, and even they could not be caught because the water remained so clear. The same conditions prevailed for four years until the people were starving; their only food was porcupine and mountain goat, with a few trout caught on hook and line. About this time a Kimsquit man, *Tsaixlil*, went goat-hunting behind his village, and one night after setting his snares, lay down in a cave. He could not sleep, and presently heard the

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[426] *ăkwukum:* Excess of amount returned over that previously received as an investment present.
Ămkhĭkhs: One of the nine supernatural siblings.
Ăsĭlăno: 1—Supernatural beings who drone as the sun moves.
2—Voice of the supernatural woman, *Snĭtsmă·s*; the term is occasionally applied to the being herself. The sound is produced by *kusiut* whistles.
Ătsălsĭls: One of the nine supernatural siblings.
Ătsnăhus: "The Coming of Foul Weather," in the language of supernatural beings: The phenomenon is semi-anthropomorphized.
Ătsă·ts: 1—Village in the lower Bella Coola valley.
2—Ancient chief from whom the village is supposedly named.
Ătsqwaiămlsĭn: *Kusiut* name of a Bella Coola man; the designation is of Kwakiutl origin.
●[821] *Ătqwaiust:* Supernatural beings who blacken the face of the moon at eclipses.
Ătsămtă: 1—One of the first women to settle at *Tăl·ĭs* in the beginning of time.
2—Daughter of an *ustămy* chief mentioned in an ancient story.
Ătsĭtlă: 1—One of the designations of *Kămai·ts*, the mysterious supernatural woman.
2—Ferocious, awe-inspiring, *adjective*.
[526] *ăwăixyu:* Swing consisting of two long ropes with cross-seat.
[824] *ăxpădultsĭx:* Spruce leaves.
Ăxmtci: *Kusiut* name of a Bella Coola man.
ăyĭpotnam: Lehal.
Ăyălălĭs: 1—One of the first men to settle at Calvert Island in the beginning of time.
2—One of the first men to settle at *Nuxwălst* in the beginning of time.
3—One of the first men to settle at *Ămă·ts* in the beginning of time.
ăyădjălos: Stake supporting olachen net.
[796] *ăyăxpămm:* Ritual repeated at intervals between the allotment of tasks for a potlatch, and the coming of a supernatural being to the first *nusuk* initiate.
ăyĭ", plural, wuălk"ătĭ: Herald.
[533] *Ăyŏkămam:* *Kusiut* name of a Bella Coola man.
ălux: Third part of song.
'ălux: Pleasure expedition of boys and girls to the forest.
[517] *Ălux:* Name of an isolated star.
[821] *Ălqotlcos:* Supernatural man-eater, patron of Cannibals.
Ălqtălos: Stick decorated with abalone-shell used by one of the settlers in the upper Bella Coola valley in the beginning of time.
Ălqwulus: Supernatural female berry-picker resident in the land of the dead.
ălpăla: Announcer.
Ămkwălskĭs·ĭs: Bay of the Thousand Islands near Namu.
Ămshnaĭs: *Kusiut* name of a Bella Coola man.
ămstăla: Cannibal.
[587] *ămwuălăm:* Marriage with sister of a deceased wife; the word is undoubtedly connected with the verb, *to bequeath*.
Ănkwĭs: Supernatural creature similar to a human being.
Ănăla: Supernatural woman, wife of Cold Wind and mother of Ice.
Ănălălĭ: Bella Bella man mentioned in an ancient story.
[425] *ănăl-tĭpem:* The transference of a name, during the period of engagement, from the father of the future bridegroom to the father of the future bride.
[553]
[584]

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Ălka: *ɬɛ́ɬmɛ* village.

Alkwɬɬ, "He of the Tied-up Penis": Name given to a lad whose sex was disguised in infancy.

[426] *alkhamadyt:* Refusal to lend to an outsider a family prerogative such as the employment of marriage dancers.

[574] *alkuqulɛ́mam:* Meal served when a chief's fellow villagers are called in, preparatory to an announcement of his coming potlatch.

Alkuziyamm: Name of a female shaman.

Alkwi, "The Opening of the Sky":
1—One of the first men to settle at Kimsquit in the beginning of time.
2—One of the first men to settle at *Stuie* in the beginning of time.
3—Name of a *Snuiletɛl* chief.

Allhalɛ́ɬalaix: *Kusiut* name of a Bella Coola man.

Allhmathaaix: One of the first men to settle at *Skɛkɛ́ɬ* in the beginning of time.

[575] *allimaɬmam: Sisaok* having the ability to enter the back-room and treat initiates concealed there. The function probably antedates the employment of *hai·shkila.*

Allipaix: Holders, supernatural beings who restrain supernatural Cannibals.

[583] *allixɛ́mm:* Frenzied beating of sticks.

Almamaam: Wife of *Tsalalɛ́m*, the supernatural hunter.

Almaskistmm: Supernatural calendrical experts.

Almɛqhaikila: Husband of *Ana'likmalaix*; he is known only in Kimsquit.

[575] *almɛtɛ́mk:* *Kusiut* dance of mystery.

[574] *almɛiwɛtɛ́mm:* Visit paid to a sick person, especially the coming of foreign guests to a mourning ceremony.

almɛiwɛtɛmmap: Call used by heralds when summoning to a mourning ceremony.

[425] [583] *almɛ́ɬamlaix:* The "Dragging Across" of a name, crest, or other intangible prerogative from wife to husband either at marriage or later at a repurchasing of the wife.

[262] *almɛ́mm:* To drag a heavy burden.

almɛlɛw·ɛn: Cranberries mixed with olachen grease.

[821] *almɛssim:* Visit to his repository by a *kusiut* initiate.

Almɛsdimut, "Facing Both Ways": Second moon after the winter solstice.

Almliqɛmmy, "The Actionless Time": Hushed assemblage of the *kukusiut* after departure of a Cannibal.

[597] *almkiokɛm:* Adoption of a person resembling the deceased to replace the latter.

Almlalyalaix: 1—Supernatural being who revives mortals.
2—Name received by a shaman from this being.

Almɛ: Food.

[425] *almɛmm*, "Food Supplies": The term applied to the giving of the use of land at marriage.

Almɛlɛ́ɬ, "Stockaded": Village in the lower Bella Coola valley.

[756] *almɛnɛ:* Shaman's collar of dyed and undyed cedar-bark, arranged in alternate strands.

[882] *almɛsik:* Guarded, term applied to a girl secluded at adolescence.

[825] *Almɛsiyɛn·ɛ:* Supernatural name of olachen, applied to those brought by the first people in the beginning of time.

Almɛqɛ'dɛɬ, "A Glance Downwards": Name given to an *Almɛlɛ́ɬ* man in the beginning of time.

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Ăxyaił: Locality near *Stuie* where berries are plentiful.
A'yaaq: Chief living at *Tăl'io* in the beginning of time.

a

am'hl'a: One of the o'alk dances.
ana: I, first person singular.
[262] *'arr*: Herring eggs when brought into house ready for preparation as food.[1]

B

bakwā': Supernatural animal.
Balā': One of the first women sent down west of Kwatna in the beginning of time.
ba-ĥka: To guess, as done by the uninitiated at a Mystery dance.
Bāxbāxqwaiwa or *Bāxbāxqwanāhiwa*: Kwakiutl supernatural being.
[825] *bilā'*: Lamprey.
Bilkwa: *Kaxiut* name of a *Salio* man.
bilxw'i: Abalone-shell.
Bilxwalaks: Influential Kwatna woman who died about 1870.
[292] [622] *bqlut*: Ball-topped hat worn by chiefs.
Bla-qwa: A Kimsquit composer.
Bo'astem: *Stuie* man mentioned in an ancient story.
bqla: Supernatural, man-like creature.

D

[821] [772] *dā xoaq'''da* or *xoaq'''*: The sky, regarded as the lower side of a land inhabited by supernatural beings.
Dakdak-alaia: 1—"The Comet," synonym for *Noākymm*.
2—The *kaxiut* prerogative of seeing *Noākymm*.
Dakdakaxa, "The Ever-Comer": Synonym for *Noākymm*.
Dakdakaxmxm: Supernatural being who awaits *Noākymm*.
Dakdakaxwa: Supernatural dog salmon resident in the land above.
[601] *di kwāmxts di emts*: Niece's husband.
di kwāmxts tsi nakxm: Aunt's husband.
Diqum'naił: One of the first men to settle at *Ălqălaxl* in the beginning of time.
dzeia: Archaic term for *kaxiut* Breaker.[2]
[824] [372] [601] *dzedzik*: Frayed cedar-wood, as used for tinder.
djatlakxi, plural, djadjalakxm: Son; term used in direct address for an adult.
Djaxlxp: Man mentioned in an ancient story.
Djī Sīnāxīł, "The Slave Owner": Designation of the supernatural woman *Kanai-ts*.
[101] *Djaldzuma*: Collective term applied to the Kwakiutl-speaking peoples of the mainland.
Djaqlx-ts: Man mentioned in an ancient story.
Dudzeaq''': Chief of abalone-shell people on the lower Fraser in the beginning of time.
Dudzeaq''': One of the first men to settle at *Stuie* in the beginning of time.
Dudzepas: One of the first women to settle at *Tăl'io* in the beginning of time.

[1] This word was recorded from a man with the individual usage of an *r* sound.
[2] This word was recorded from a man with the individual usage of an *r* sound.

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*192 *istutsmaɣ*, "Come and eat": Invitation to the *kukusiut* to assemble in a performer's house.

isulta: House beams.

isut-sta: Messenger bearing invitation to a potlatch.

[752] *iɬcliktas:* Massage.

[585] [431] *iɬskalemɬk:* 1—Presents, regarded as clothing, etc., given by the groom's relatives to the bride's kinsmen when the latter visit his house on the wedding day.
2—Other presents given by the husband's relatives to the wife's kinsmen prior to her repurchase.

[583] *iɬxwaxdjut*, "The Throwing Off of a Heavy Burden from the Shoulders": Said of the repayment by a wife's relatives of presents received from her husband's kinsmen.

itxwoltxsta: 1—Battering-ram.
2—The destruction of the house of a chief who is about to give a potlatch.

Ixɬiɬatam: One of the names of the supreme god.

[201] *iɣɬhmaxtam:* Notification, by pressure on the foot, to a chief to go to the meeting-place.

[533] *ixlxaxum:* The employment of frenzied stick-beating.

Ixpɛmm: Hot Springs on South Bentinck Arm.

ixstɛtɛpɛmmas, "The Hearing": Synonym for *slaxtmm*, q.v.; this is a Kimsquit term only.

i-ɣtimut: Kusiotem rite in which the performer appears to be burnt to death.

i-ɣwalmam: The casting of *kusiut* masks on the fire.

Iɣwnk, "Far from the River": Village on the upper Kimsquit River.

[847] *ixwotl:* Abortion.

i-xwsila, "Disappointed": said of the supernatural beings called by a *wi-a* dancer who arrive too late for the potlatch.

[101] *ɬkas:* Slave from the lower Fraser owned in Kimsquit during the last century.

[601] *ɬɬwlāxmɣ:* Bella Coola term for the Bella Bella.

ɬɬwlaxnalosmax: Half-brother or half-sister.

umlk: 1—Man.
2—Son; term used by old person in direct address to adult.
3—Husband.

[614] *umlkāxta:* Male relative of same ancestral family.

umlklwas: Woman who performs man's work.

[601] *umlkyāxta:* Single brother in a family with several sisters.

[431] *ummlki, plural, ummlhoksi:* Small boy, especially son; term used in indirect address.

[584] *ɬɬalik*", "Working Clothes": Presents given by the relatives of the future bride to the kinsmen of the future bridegroom at the first announcement of the engagement. The implication is that they will have to labour industriously to obtain the wealth necessary for the marriage.

[821] *winiaxul:* Cold wind of the mornings, semi-anthropomorphized.

xtoity: Bella Bella term for the *xtāmɣ*.

[563] *xtāmɣ:* Bella Coola term for the people of mixed Bella Bella-Kimsquit stock who inhabited the shores of Dean Channel.

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ɯxiɯl, "The Time for *Kusiut* Rites": Fifth moon after the summer solstice.
ɯyɯyuɯt: 1—One of the first men to settle at *Alɛ̨ɑ̄lɑ̄xɛl* in the beginning of time.
2—One of the first men to settle on the lower Kimsquit River in the beginning of time.
3—One of the first men to settle on the upper Kimsquit River in the beginning of time.
4—*Sɯaok* name of a Kimsquit man.
ɯhɛlulɑ̄k: One of the supernatural carpenters.
ɯsɑ̄mɑ̄mɯmɯm: The repurchase of a wife from her husband. [583]
ɯsɑiɑk': Synonym for *spɯxdjut*, a present for which a return is not expected. [431]
ɯsɑxɯxdjut: Hereditary tendency.
ɯsɛm: *Kusiut* name of a *Stuɯx* man. [827]
ɯsiɯx: Red rock cod. The difference between this and *ilɑkɯlk* is problematical.
ɯsɬɛlɑlɑm: One of the first men to settle at *Lɛ̨mɛ̨·ɬs* in the beginning of time. [825]
ɯsɬliwɑtɛm'xiɑmɛt·ɑl·ɑ̄t': The entrusting of a woman to a husband's care. This phrase is used by a wife's relatives when about to rebuy her as expressing their somewhat boastful sentiments concerning the relations entered into at marriage. [583]
ɯsɯ·ɑbɑ̄lɛwɑdjutlɑix: Sterile supernatural visitation. [787]
ɯxhɛlɑtɛ: 1—To strengthen, or to shore up.
2—Goods provided by a wife to strengthen her husband's position. [556]
ɯxɬɑ̄hɑ̄ɬɛ, "Different from All Others": Bella Bella chief living in the beginning of time.
ɯxɛxwɑn·i: Wife of North Wind, a supernatural being resident in a side valley of the upper Bella Coola.
ɯxlɛkwɑlɑdjut: Supernatural aid granted to the unfortunate.
ɯxɬɛ̨ɛtlɑmɬɛ̨wɑndjiɑs: Son of Raven and one of the first settlers at *Tɑ̄l·ɛ̨ɛ* in the beginning of time.
ɯxnɯkwɛlɬɑix, "The Track of the Sun": *K'ɑlk* name obtained in the beginning of time.
ɯxnɯtlɛɑ̄mlɛix: Supernatural name of *ɯxiɯtl*.
ɯxɯnɯɑ̄m, "Commander": 1—Said to be the word from which *Alɛ̨ɯnɯɑ̄m* is derived.
2—One of the names of the supreme god.
ɯxɬlɛkmɑɑsɑix, "The Circuit": Name assumed by *Smɛɛɑn* in the beginning of time.
ɯxwɑppɑtɛdjut: One of the names of Great Blue Heron as chief.
ɯxwɑ·ɛ: *Kusiut* name of a *Stuɯx* man.
ɯxwimɑtlɑ: Kimsquit hunter mentioned in an ancient story.
ɯ·ɯnɑɑsɑ: 1—One of the first men to settle at *Lɛ̨mɛ̨·ɬs* in the beginning of time.
2—One of the first men to settle at Rivers Inlet in the beginning of time.
ɯzɑ̄lɣɔtsɑix, "The Circuit": Name assumed by *Smɛɛɑn* in the beginning of time.
ɯzɯkɯm, "The Walker": Supernatural being resident in a glacier near the overland trail between *Snulɛlɬ* and *Tɑ̄l·ɛ̨ɛ*.

K

kɑi: 1—Snow. [821]
2—Unidentified berry. [824]
Kɑiɯsdiɑs: Name obtained from a supernatural being by a Bella Bella man.
Kɑkɛmɬl: One of Raven's Crow sisters.
kɑkɑ̄s: Crow. [825]
Kɑkɔɔlɯ: Locality in the Bella Coola valley mentioned in an ancient story.

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Łâliaxsa: One of the first men to settle on the upper Kimsquit River in the beginning of time.
Łahaml: Unidentified town on the outer coast mentioned in a *Stuıx* story of the beginning of time.
Łâlâliamdimut: Name acquired by one of the first settlers at *Smâlâli* in the beginning of time.
Łâlaxmâlâx: *Smaoan*'s son in the beginning of time.
Iałâ-i: Small portable canoe.
Iâlstam: Desertion of a spouse.
Łâxsmai: 1—"The Copper One."
2—"Snow," in the language of Deer.
Iahmimakywaa: Imitation potlatch carried out by *nusaxkamy*.
Łaknus: Bella Bella Cannibal living in the beginning of time.
Łâlixwnimut, "The Scatterer of Eagle Down": Name created by *Smaoan* for his son in the beginning of time.
Iima: To loot.
Łixlixkilka: Bella Bella supernatural being who brings food.
Iixwnimut: Person of placid disposition.
Iślda: Bull-roarer.
Idt: To excise rot; the word for potlatch, *łam*, is supposedly derived from this.
łam: Potlatch.
Iamkmiil: The binding down of a Cannibal with rope.
Łamolim: Unidentified autumn moon, probably the fourth after the summer solstice.
Łamolis di Nusaxkamy, "The Potlatch of the *nusaxkamy*": Second moon after winter solstice.
Łbamkila, "First of All": One of the first men to settle at *Nukils* in the beginning of time.
Ikuwadjut: Shaman's ritual error, such as the curing of one who is ceremonially unclean.
Ikumkekstu: Miniature totem-pole such as is used in mourning ceremony.
Imlnkmm: Partnership of a poor man with a chief about to give a potlatch, so that the former may repay debts, for which his poverty required no compensation, and thus start himself on the path towards greatness.
Imanxmtim: The turning over of a mountain.
Ła'ya: Professional name of a female berry-picker.
Iqomkekstu: Stick decorated with copper bangles used in mourning rites by one of the first settlers at *Łwiyai* in the beginning of time.
Iqia: The painting of the face as a sign of mourning.
'Łxmdimut: Cannibal *kusiut* name used by the first settlers at *Sallia* in the beginning of time.
Łtiqwam: Kusiut name of a Bella Coola male Scratcher.
Iuklai: Aversion.
Łukwala: 1—*Kusiut* name of a *Tsmasl* man.
2—Shamanistic power.
Iullultmut: Visitation from the life of a recently dead friend, notification of which is conveyed by a start or other feeling of discomfort.
Łulqwaw-i: Kusiut name of a Kimsquit man. The first to use this designation was a relative of the earliest settlers in the beginning of time.
Łulukwalntmm, "The Giver of Shamanistic Power": One of the names of *Tlitsaplilax-a,* and hence a designation given to shamans.

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nixobásta: Intangible *kusiut* prerogative consisting of the insertion of some object into the digestive tract. [424]

Nixp: Expert supernatural dancer; to his associates he is a yearling mountain goat.

nmly or *nmlyámut:* First complete dance given by a *kusiut* initiate. [825]

nmnmk: Mammal, any kind.

Nnixwanaix: One of the names of Great Blue Heron as chief.

Nnokila: 1—One of the first men to settle on the upper Dean in the beginning of time.
2—One of the first men to settle at *Snuisli* in the beginning of time.

Nnókymm: Supernatural being who brings the salmon.

Noamtcnaik: Name given to his grandson by one of the first settlers at *Sixkiut* in the beginning of time.

nokcista: *Kusiut* prerogative as a Breaker; this is said to be a Bella Bella term.

nolpákta: Sloping stick extending from floor to roof behind the fire on which, at Kimsquit, *kusiut* masks are hung.

nomuuk: The making and use of hand nets for olachen.

Nomodjmúsum: 1—"The Adviser": One of the names of the supreme god. [622]
2—Chiefs of a village, collectively; virtually, "The Sages."

no'onátlum: 1—Ceremony at which *nsaok* names are validated in the eyes of the fellow-villagers. [553]
2—Any ceremony at which all kinds of dances are performed. [746]

no'ondjut: Assemblage of the *kukusiut* to practise difficult rites.

No'qwna, "The One with Thick Pubic Hair": *Tlaiyákum* name given to a deserting wife.

Nowakila: One of the names of Raven as chief.

nowkcilúlum: Sentence of death passed by the *kukusiut* on one of their fellows as punishment for an error. [688]

nuaiyas: A loan, especially of an ancestral right. [426]

Nuxlúsmm: Synonym for *Nnókymm,* the supernatural being who brings the salmon.

Nu'aas, "Inhospitable": Name taken by a woman in consequence of slights received from her husband's relatives.

nuápsula: Toilet-hole.

nuaska: Birth. [821]

Nuxlcáqas: Anthropomorphized evil cold wind.

nuhal-áx: Rhetorical term of respect for aged dead. [769]

nuhal-áx du ihmsta: 1—High tide. [823]
2—Long life.

nuhjáqasta: Cross-piece tied to canoe to hold olachen-net post steady while being driven.

Nu'cymáq, "Place of Foul Water": Village in the lower Bella Coola valley.

Nuk": 1—Village at head of South Bentinck Arm, on the east side.
2—River flowing into head of South Bentinck Arm from the east.

Nuxlmálsaix: Synonym for *Sximsximdt,* an immoral supernatural woman.

nuqál: The achievement of success against supernatural odds; the term is used with reference to the solutions of the riddles of the Mystery dance.

nuhamdzaxnum: Any non-sacred dance held at the conclusion of the *kusiut* season. [535]

Nuhsa'aa: An influential Kwakiutl chief.

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Nuxuixyxnam: Woman endowed supernaturally by *Ano'kkwulxais* and serving as patron (?) to a *kusiut* dancer.

nuxulliutz: Omen of death.

Nuxutxumkimxm, "The One Who Is Thought Of": One of *Tlitxpkilaia*'s names and hence a designation given to shamans.

Nuxuxmlaix: 1—Man dwelling in *Xemxyus*'s house.
2—*Kusiut* name of a Kimsquit woman.

nuxuyim: The cry of *hi, hi,* uttered by Cannibals.

Nuxuxmxy: *Kusiut* name assumed by a *Stust* woman in the beginning of time.

nuxuyuxum: *Kusiut* with right to display a puppet-patron. The difference, if any, between this and *qaiaxum* is obscure.

Nu'uxuathumnaix, "The Widener": One of Raven's names as chief.

nuxtaxibi'um: Synonym for *hauxtum:* Payments made by the wife's relatives to those of the bridegroom on first arrival outside his house on the wedding day. They are said to be in return for "Food" received from them on many occasions.

Nuxtsnaiskan, "Heedlessly Deaf": Name taken by a wife in consequence of slights received from her husband's relatives.

nuxuu-uxtu: The binding, by a warrior, of his hair into a top-knot.

nuxtaxtim-i: Medicine brewed in a skull.

Nuxtxmxti, "Place of Much *Xtxmxti*": Village in the middle Bella Coola valley.

Nuxuxtmis: *Nuxwal* name of a Kimsquit man.

Nuxiliuxaiku-u: One of the first women to settle at Rivers Inlet in the beginning of time.

nuxmuxme-il ue xnxy"als: One year.

nuxum: Envy, in the sense of desire for something from which one is debarred by lack of prerogative.

nuxpik, "Empty House": House in which a *kusiut* dance is taking place.

nuxsdiut: The throwing of grease on a fire to heat, both literally and figuratively, a rival.

Nuxsly": 1—Supernatural beings responsible for an eclipse.
2—Eclipse.

nuxtlitxa: Physical strength of the body running down the sides from little finger to little toe.

nuxuaxuix: Hoot-like cry uttered at the coming of a call for *kusiuns* and other important *kusiut* rites.

nux"auxsikim: Unexpected stroke of good fortune.

Nuxwikmlaix: *Xsaak* name of a Kimsquit man.

Nuxwilax: Site of an ancient town on Schooner Pass.

Nuxwlisli: The upper heaven.

nuxuxa: Woman with thick pubic hair.

Nuxwxulixpixtu-i: A *Stust* repository.

Nuxtlquxttmxix, "Where *Alquxtum* Speaks": One of the names of the supreme god's house.

nuxtmxuxuxy: Cottonwood buds.

Nuxtpxnia'xix, "The Place for Catching Salmon": Name assumed by *Smoaan* in the beginning of time.

nuxtlixmp: Canoe-maker.

Nuxtixm: River entering the Bella Coola from the south near *Nuxhilt.*

nuxtxkimp: Children's dance which serves as training for *kusiut* rites and to provide entertainment.

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Saiutl: Thunder, anthropomorphized.
Saixnäs: *Kusiut* name of a Kimsquit man.
salälsi: Historical account; the term does not include ancestral myths or other personal property.
sä·lhalhmm: 1—Food distributed by the donor of a *kusiut* dance; the term is also applied to presents given instead of food.
2—Food stored up for this purpose, or even for a meal.
sä·lpsta: Cannibalistic incubus.
sä·lpstumm: Presents given as "Food" by a bridegroom and his relatives to the bride's kinsmen when the latter come to his house on the wedding day.
sälïskskdimut: Profession of *kusiut* executioner.
sälukwalás: Object obtained by a shaman from a supernatural being and displayed by him.
säml: Sockeye salmon.
Sänältsmuhlts Älquntäm: One of the sons of the supreme god.
Sanunusmmlaix: Supernatural being who has the prerogative of scratching in the land above.
Sänutlkm or *Sänutlkmdimut:* One of the names of Mount *Nusqalst* as chief.
Sänuxmäxots, "The Light Bringer": 1—One of Raven's names as chief.
2—Ancestral name of a *Stnox* man.
3—A celebrated Bella Coola hunter and chief.
sätx; vocative, sätäi; vocative plural, sätxwa·ks: Comrade, especially one engaged in an enterprise with the speaker.
sä·tla: Spoon-shaped river canoe.
Sätlia: Village at point between North and South Bentinck Arms.
Sätlyenuts: River flowing into the middle Bella Coola from the north.
Sä·lma: Death, anthropomorphized.
salolts: Whetstone, *archaic.*
Sä·tsk': 1—Kimsquit River.
2—Village near the mouth of the river.
Sä·tskamx: Inhabitants of the Kimsquit River valley.
satskwal·a: Raft.
Sä·t!·mnän·i: Shaman's name acquired from Death.
sawa: Pillow.
sawadjut, "Pillowness": *Kusiut* ceremonial at which no call is present.
sazi, vocative, saxinso: Brother or sister younger than speaker, especially the youngest of a family.
Saxinso: Proper name of a youngest brother mentioned in an ancient story.
säxkam: Bracken.
säxwänos: Tide flats.
sakdjulk: Heart.
Salwalosam: That part of *Sanx*ᵂ which did not fall in the crash at the beginning of time.
Samhaal: Village on Rivers Inlet.
Samsiutän·i: Part of a peculiar repository.
samyamlkdimut, "Like Salmon": The so-called "Winter Salmon," probably steelhead salmon, obtained by Raven in the beginning of time.
sa'mista, "Resting Place": Limit of the sun's course. The word for December is connected with this.
sankwolsam: Leader of musicians.

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Sinupɛ̈l: One of the first men to settle in the Dean River valley in the beginning of time.

Sinuximɛ̈l: 1—"Right Hand": Name of a *Stuɛx* repository derived from a supernatural creature.
2—*Kusiut* name of a Bella Coola woman.

sio'mɛ̈sta: Intangible *kusiut* prerogative of imitating coitus. [424]

siɬɛ̈lɛ̈lɛ̈sɛ̈ts: Song sung by a *kusiotem* dancer on recovery from apparent death. [861]

siɬkim: Regular beatings given to a male child.

Siɛ̈lɛ̈lyam, "Time for Gathering Fern Root": Fourth moon after the summer solstice. [805]

Siɛ̈lɛ̈lusnɛ̈m: Rain after storm, anthropomorphized. This presumably refers to rain that comes after violent thunder. [821]

Siɛ̈lɛ̈lxwaix di Siut, "The Gathering of the Supernatural Beings": Fifth moon after the summer solstice. [805]

siɛ̈wɛ̈ldjut: Term of opprobrium applied to one who will not allow his children to perform ceremonial dances. [626]

siɛ̈wɛ̈k: Outright bestowal of a prerogative at marriage. [425]

sisɛ̈sts: Departure to a new locality.

sisi, vocative, sisai: Father's brother or mother's brother. [601]

sisut: Paddle.

sisutsta: Dangerous power such as is present at various petrified places. [501]

Sitkɛ̈msta: One of the names of the supreme god.

Sitliuɛ̈': Ancestral name of a Bella Coola woman. [778]

siut, vocative, siaot: 1—Any supernatural being, the significance being, "Learned."
2—Supernatural power of any kind.
3—Synonym for *qomo·ts,* the large *sisaok* whistle.
4—Killer whale. [825]
5—Song.
6—*Kusiut* name of one of the first men to settle at Kimsquit in the beginning of time.

Siutan·i: Part of a peculiar repository.

Siutɛ̈mkila: Celebrated Bella Coola warrior.

siutnalos: Wordless chorus. [533]

Siwal·os, "Where Canoes Are Left": Village on the upper Kimsquit River.

Siwid: Celebrated *Djoldɛ̈mx* chief living in the last century.

sixdiktam: 1—Expedition without definite objective, made by a despondent person. [828]
2—Individual making such a journey. [484]

Sigman·a: 1—Daughter of the supreme god.
2—*Kusiut* name of a Bella Coola woman.

sixsɛ̈n·imutsta: Place where healing power is petrified.

Sixsixɬutnam: Synonym for *Mɛ̈lakila,* the supernatural being connected with *sisaok* rites.

sixwismag: Kusiut dance or object used in the land above which serves as pattern or model, *ɛ̈nɛ̈nusk·ɛ,* for the user's protégé on earth.

sixwoɬɛ̈kmuk: Actual goods used for the "Opening," the first public announcement of a forthcoming marriage. [584]

sixwoti: Unmarried mother. [848]

siyɛ̈utɛ̈: To perform the services of a herald to a master, especially the proper direction of all chiefly rites. The word *siɛ̈utɛ̈* may be connected with this.

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sixs: Supernatural good luck.
[821] *nkmoots:* Fog.
nkn': Pack-rat.
[825] *nlk:* Mind or mentality.
[828] *nlqan:* Place of lucky finds, such as a point where whales drift ashore.
nlxstrēltwa: Cannibal recently returned from the land above.
Sēlslān-i: One of the first women to settle at *Sātlis* in the beginning of time.
nmd: Mountain.
[825] *nmlt* or *nmltxt:* Salmon, generic form.
nmqmnikhs: (Probably) viscera of an animal, *archaic.*
Smstutsāks: One of the first women to settle at Green Bay in the beginning of time.
[173] *nmsma:* Story, i.e., a legend which, lacking sociological significance, can be related by anyone.
Smtux: Woman mentioned in an ancient story.
[822] *Snk'hmm:* Bella Coola chief.
[828] *Snqlominit:* Darkness, anthropomorphized.
nnqus: Anger.
nnx: Sun.
Snxākila: 1—One of the first men to settle at Green Bay in the beginning of time.
2—Name received by one of the first settlers at *Alqālxul* in the beginning of time.
Snxālotle: 1—"The Light Maker": Name of the supreme god with reference to his control of the sun.
2—Ancestral name of a Bella Coola man.
3—*A'alk* name of a Kimsquit man.
4—*Sisaok* name of a Kimsquit man.
Snxan-a: 1—Daughter of the supreme god.
2—Bella Coola woman.
[827] *nnxkt:* Mucus.
Snxt, "Sunny": Village in the lower Bella Coola valley.
nqwlaitk: Game played with miniature spears.
[575] *nsaok:* 1—Society intimately connected with chiefs.
2—Member of the society.
nsiutl: Supernatural creature somewhat resembling a double-headed salmon.
Snsnxākila: Shaman's name of a *Snxt* woman.
nskiek': Present, invisible to all but the owner, given by *Thlexplilān-a* to the one favoured.
[601] *nskum:* Father's sister or mother's sister (in either direct or indirect address).
[583] *nsmmtlx:* The ceremonial strength acquired by a child through the repurchase of its mother.
[431] [585] *nsqe-si:* Presents given as "Food" by a bridegroom and his relatives to the bride's kinsmen when the latter come to his house on the wedding day.
nsqwk': Western dock (plant).
[824] *nsxwaxwalqs:* Snowberry.
nxnqaitsu: Distribution of carpentry tasks prior to a potlatch.
[825] *nxmmsta,* "Food Supply": Synonym for *sol'akum,* ancestral hunting-ground.
skalk": Porcupine.
[824] *skal-ut:* Black huckleberry.
[821] *skalxtsisis:* Eye-lashes of the supreme god, i.e., sunbeams.

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[765] *sɬwaɬaɬ:* 1—Memorial potlatch.
2—Mourning song.
3—The wailing of mourners at a grave.

[763] *Sɬwaɬaɬ-in-ɬ,* "The Weeper": Female supernatural being whose appearance indicates the death of a chief.

sɬwaɬaɬɬaɬaɬaix: Professional *kaɬaɬ* prerogative consisting of the right to sing of *Saitɬmɬa-a* during *kaɬaɬaɬen* dances.

sɬwaɬaɬa: Name.

Sɬwa-ll: *Kaɬaɬ* name of a Bella Coola woman.

[824] *Sla-ll:* Whitewater River, the southern fork of the Bella Coola.

slaa: Long grass suitable for pasturage.

[252] *slaɬpɬ'i:* Smoked spring salmon with the bone removed.

[554] *slaxɬ:* Many, *adjective.*

slaxɬmidjut, "The One with Many Descendants": Term used to describe an elderly man with many children and grandchildren.

Sla-ɬ: Man mentioned in an ancient story.

[601] *slaɬ:* Game, resembling a tug-of-war, played with wooden loops and spears.

[578] *slaɬaɬ, vocative, slaɬaɬaɬa:* Grandchild; the vocative indicates endearment.

slaɬaɬaɬix: The deposition of eagle down on the heads of those quarrelling to pacify them.

slɬ-x: Gall bladder.

slɬpɬɬa: 1—Breathing.
2—Sound of a *naxaɬ* whistle, referred to as the breathing of *Mɬlaɬkila.*

slɬ'i: Olachen grease.

Slɬɬɬwaɬly: 1—Ancient village in the upper Bella Coola valley.

[778] 2—Place of petrified power at site of ancient village.
3—Semi-anthropomorphized being responsible for power in this locality.

Slɬlm: Supernatural being resident at the mouth of every river.

slɬmɬa: The voice.

[824] *slɬmɬ:* Dried elderberries.

slɬwala: 1—Shaman-like power, as brought by the first people in the beginning of time.

● [821] 2—Bella Coola woman.

slɬlym: Eclipse.

sɬwaɬmlɬw': 1—One who keeps in touch with a concealed Cannibal.

[424] 2—One who has the inherited right to assist *kaɬaɬ* or *naxaɬ* dancers; this prerogative occurs in Kimsquit only.

Smaɬɬɬlla: One of the names of the supreme god.

Smaɬɬɬlla: One of the names of the supreme god.

Smaɬɬ-a: 1—Synonym for *Slɬɬɬwaɬly,* q.v.
2—Ancestral name of a Bella Coola woman.

[424] *smɬaɬa:* A possession, such as a myth or a prerogative, inherited from the distant past, usually from the coming to earth of the first people in the beginning of time.

smɬɬɬɬaɬly: Debris from cones eaten by squirrels.

Smaɬɬ, "The First": One of the first men to settle on the Kimsquit River in the beginning of time.

Smaɬɬɬk: Man mentioned in an origin myth of a southern locality.

smɬ-ɬmɬ, vocative, smɬ-ɬmɬ: Friends.

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smā'ā: A place of petrified power, i.e., a locality where a supernatural being has been rendered incapable of moving. [778]

smā'ā ta sīmaxta, "Petrified Name": Designation brought from above in the beginning of time.

sme'k: 1—Mussel. [825]
2—Freshwater mussel.

smemmaxk: One of the thrushes.

smqaimāx: An animal, especially a bear, showing a kindly disposition towards man.

Snāhāl: *Xnā'a-ta-l* man mentioned in an ancient story.

snānā': 1—Gum.
2—Name of son made by Raven in the beginning of time.

snaq: Slave.

Snaqhā'ēla: One of the first men to settle at *Sātla* in the beginning of time.

snāyem: Visionary receiving power direct from the supreme god.

sniendzaqs: Worm or larva living under the ocean.

Sniexlēmaw-a: Ancestral name of a Bella Coola man.

Sniexla: Supernatural being who holds earth in position.

Sniexmēx-a: Supernatural woman who restores those who suffer misfortune in the performance of *Sniexl* rites.

Snuxlā'ōkx: *Kuxlal* name of a Bella Coola woman; it was obtained at *Tal'ēo* in the beginning of time.

snūnq: 1—Mythical monster.
2—Man living at Kimsquit in early times.

snunqas dī snqā'dzil: Posts of the sun, the barriers which cause it to retrace its course at the solstices. [821]

snunqas na xmdlx: Variety of *snunq* living above tree line.

Snuqaulaxtsēlxta: Stealer of thoughts, an invisible barrier within the door which prevents a man from carrying out a potlatch by robbing him of his good intentions. The concept is anthropomorphized as a supernatural being. [828]

Sno-ēdzēlx: Island south-west of Bella Bella.

Sno'ēlxdz Āqaxtam: Deer son of the supreme god.

Sno'oxiqmēy, "On the Point": Village in the lower Bella Coola valley.

Snqaqhaq: One of the names of Great Blue Heron as chief.

sno'oiyem: Ceremonial collar of hemlock-bark, dyed cedar-bark, and undyed cedar-bark such as is given to *Nūxalklāxa.* The word may refer to the throwing of this on the fire. [824]

snudzat'aq: Unidentified berry.

snuhāhmāk: Top used by one of the sons of the supreme god.

Snuhilmāk: Supernatural being resident above who has the power of causing things to curl up and come to him.

snuhimqx: Part of house behind fire. [824]

snuhlhaik: Unidentified plant.

snuhlkumā: Piece of wood, rolled hard and smooth in a landslide.

Snuhwnimaxlk: Chief of supernatural singers who accompany *Nuxkymm.*

snuhwnilk: Twin.

Snuiqulqēk: 1—Cannibalistic supernatural woman, formerly resident in the supreme god's house.
2—Old woman resident in *Xemsqme's* house.

Snumaxlma: Locality containing repository of name received from Death.

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Snqē·ɣ': Affluent of the middle Bella Coola.
Snqēnaix: Kimsquit woman mentioned in an ancient story.
Snqnaxnāl: 1—Copper Raven that perched on house of first settlers at *Alqālxel* in the beginning of time.
2—Name given to the Raven design used by the first settlers at *Stnox* in the beginning of time.
snsaiks: Skeleton. The word is obviously a derivative of *saiks.*
Snsnlkāl: 1—"The Wise One": One of the more important supernatural beings.
2—Ancestral name of a *Temsot* man.
Snsnmkāl: Name of salmon mentioned in origin myth of *Alqālxel,* probably a supernatural designation.
Snsnmlkānk': Name of salmon mentioned in origin myth of *Alqālxel,* probably a supernatural designation.
[374] *Snsxlalut,* Cold: A supernatural being.
Snsxlaxwai, "The Mystery of *Alquntēm*": The place where the supreme god puts what he wishes to conceal, such as the correct solution of the Mystery dance. The concept is semi-anthropomorphized.
snsxs: Generic name for several supernatural animals.
snsxpnēdjēn·a: Right front corner of a house on entering.
Snsxri: Pronunciation of *Snsxli* by a man with idiosyncratic *r* usage.
Snsxli, "Place of Dog Salmon": Village in the middle Bella Coola valley.
[765] *snstlānxn,* "A Shoring Up": Term used to describe the functions of mourning songs.
Snsltānāl, "Box": 1—One of the first women to settle on the upper Dean in the beginning of time.
2—Box in *Xmoqwa*'s house.
3—Name of a *Tāl·io* man derived from the last.
Snslle·tl, "Place of No Falls": Village in the upper Bella Coola valley.
Snsthmx: Kusiut name of a Bella Coola man.
Snstqemlkelstc: Point between North and South Bentinck Arms.
● [821] *snstslāsst:* Race of dwarfs, presumably mythical.
Snsxiaxwaxwm: Whirlwind, anthropomorphized.
[778] *Snsxnlklāls:* Generic term for four supernatural, eagle-like creatures.
Snswāl: Place on South Bentinck Arm where curative power is localized.
snqwxlxhwut, "Bring Light": Call of invitation to a *kusiut* dance in the lower Bella Coola valley.
snqwr·ētk: One who seeks embers.
Snxnmxthmāx·a: One of the first women to settle at *Tāl·io* in the beginning of time.
Snxxwxlxls: Name of first settlers at *Alqālxel* in the beginning of time.
Snxyxnlikxux·a: Rivers Inlet name used by a Bella Coola *kusiut* woman.
[484] *sōlis:* Food carried for consumption on a journey; the term is also applied to the provender brought from above by the first people in the beginning of time.
sōl'akm: Hunting-ground owned by an ancestral family.
Som: Woman mentioned in a song.
song'": see dā soox'" dā.
Sonxnxsha: 1—One of the first men to settle at *Nuklax* in the beginning of time.
2—One of the first men to settle at Kimsquit in the beginning of time.
Sonxnx·a: One of the first women to settle at *Nuklax* in the beginning of time.
[431] *sonxwxdjut:* Synonym for *spuxwxdj,* the preliminary presents given to guests at a memorial potlatch.

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Sonq'ᵂmai: *Kusiut* name of a *Stuie* man.
Sopas: *Kusiut* name of a *Tsimsil* man.
sɔpɔlɛ́xʷum: Scalp.
sɔqwalɛkk': Gnarled projection of wood from a birch knot. [824]
Spaixʷaxʷmɛ́n-a: Supernatural being who witkens his fellows in the morning.
Spaxkaiłmaix: One of the first women to settle on the Kimsquit River in the beginning of time.
spɛ́nixʷta: Temporary camping-place.
Spɛ́ɛɛlɛlt, "The First Born": Name brought from Kitlobe to Kimsquit by a marriage in the beginning of time.
spɛlkɛ́: Star.
sɛ́pɛlxʷm, "A Washing of the Hands": Term used to describe a marriage arranged by the offending party to settle a feud. [581]
sɛpɛndɛ́ɛ́s: The forcing upwards of water at high tide, through openings in the rocks at sea-level. [823]
sɛ́ɛ́ɛ́pɛ́ɛ́xʷm: Person who pounds cedar-bark.
sɛ́ɛ́ɛ́ta: Tools for pounding cedar-bark, specifically the upper beater.
Sɛ́ɛ́ɛ́ɛ́nɛ́ɛ́-i: Region on the east side of Dean Channel, about one mile from its head, where supernatural power is localized. [778]
Spɛ'xʷnɛ́nta: Island west of Namu.
sɛ́pka: 1—Pudenda.
2—Variety of *sɛ́nɛ́q* with female organs. [824]
sɛpɛ́ɛ́kʷna: Unidentified berry. [821]
S'ɛ́ɛ́', Cold Wind: A supernatural being.
Sɛ́ɛ́kɛ́nɛ́ta: Meeting place of chiefs on rock ledge behind *Xɛ́nɛ́pɛ́ɛ́;* the term is probably applied to any meeting place of chiefs.
sɛ́ɛ́la: War-knife used by Raven in the beginning of time.
sɛ́nɛ́q: Clachen. [825]
sɛ́nɛ́x: Eagle down. [431]
sɛ́nɛ́ɛ́ɛ́t, "Eagle Down-nose": Rhetorical reference to a present for which no return is expected.
sɛ́nɛ́xɛ́nɛ́x: Long, delicate feathers on an eagle's breast. [825]
Sɛ́nɛ́xɛ́nkaiłmix: *Kusiut* name of a woman sent down near *Nuxɛ́ɛ́lɛ́t* in the beginning of time.
Sɛ́nɛ́xɛ́nɛ́ɛ́'nɛ́ɛ́lɛ́mɛ́t: *Xɛ́ɛ́ɛ́t* name of *Xɛ́nɛ́ɛ́s* origin.
Sɛ́nɛ́xɛ́nɛ́ɛ́s: *Xɛ́ɛ́ɛ́t* name of a Kimsquit woman.
sɛ́ɛ́l-a: Unidentified berry. [824]
sɛ́nɛ́ɛ́t: Alder wood, dead and dried. [825]
sɛ́ɛ́ɛ́ɛ́s: Spring salmon which have spawned.
sɛ́ɛ́ɛ́l: Hunting ability. The term usually refers to the ability of the supernatural artizans to hunt, i.e., to kill, human beings.
sɛ́ɛ́ɛ́t or sɛ́ɛ́ɛ́ɛ́mɛ́t: Stone, suitable for axes, found on Mount *Nuxɛ́ɛ́lɛ́t.* The name of the mountain is said to be derived from this. [316] [103]*
sɛ́ɛ́ɛ́ɛ́: 1—Chest.
2—Smoke cure for diseases of the chest.
Sɛ́ɛ́ɛ́ɛ́: Land of Ashes. [584]
sɛ́ɛ́ɛ́ɛ́ɛ́: First proposal of marriage if made by relatives of the man.
sɛ́ɛ́ɛ́ɛ́: River sand mixed with small pebbles.
Sɛ́ɛ́ɛ́ɛ́ɛ́: Mountain on north side of the lower Bella Coola River. [823]
sɛ́ɛ́ɛ́ɛ́ɛ́: Flood.

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[824] *sqedilp:* Cedar roots.
sqel: Sling.
[578] *sqelqelthm:* To use a sling.
sqili: Term of opprobrium applied to a woman, signifying slave ancestry.
[821] *sqimmas:* Fleecy cloud.
sqiol: Muzzle-like power which binds the mouth of a Cannibal against ordinary
[412] food.
sqma: Wooden comb.
S'q.s't: Land of Ashes, alternative term for *Squml.*
sqo: Umbilical hernia.
[601] *sqolxmas:* Distant relative of female sex, when referred to by man.
sqoltkadjat: Long phallus.
Squmall: Village in the lower Bella Coola valley.
sqosa: Unconsumed portion of share of food carried away by guests from a meal.
sqostlg: Food distributed for carrying away as *sqosa.*
[415] *squi:* Large, flat, soft basket of broad strips of bark.
[431] *sqmaxas:* Presents given by guests to the donor of a memorial potlatch.
sqtelp: Maple.
[824] *squm:* Sudden start that expels the spirit.
squpaitl: Outer plank of cedar, convex and bark-covered on one side.
squal: Love song or other non-ceremonial composition.
squaken: Fern, probably one of the genus *Aspidium.*
[533] *squalxwaken:* 1—Theme of a song dealing with current events, especially allusions to the faults of someone present.
2—Singers who use this type of composition.
[825] *squal-ann:* Large, unidentified bird.
[374] *Squlalua:* Heat: A supernatural being.
[825] *Squli: Kusiut* name of a Bella Coola man.
[825] *sqwo'nn:* Loon.
[262] *stai-tl:* Mountain goat marrow, a food which is said to have remarkable powers of preventing hunger.
Stalqalaam, "The Increase of the Sun's Heat through the Addition of Fire Sticks": *Kusk* name obtained in the beginning of time.
stalkmy; plural, stalkmy'; vocative plural, stalkmg:
1—Chief.
2—One of the first men to settle at *Alqalast* in the beginning of time.
3—One of the first men to settle at *Sunal* in the beginning of time.
4—Name created by *Smaoan* for a grandson.
5—*Sisaok* name of a Kimsquit man.
[601] *stan:* Mother, term commonly used by an adult in indirect address.
[825] *standablkam:* Bat.
[601] *standimat:* Step-mother; the term is also applied to other women of the generation older than the speaker and related to him by marriage.
stantamats: Elderly female relatives of the same ancestral family as the speaker.
[614] *stauk:* Whetstone.
[412] *Staus:* Man mentioned in a story.
Stap': Mountain near *Tal-is.*
stapam, "What Is Hidden": The correct solution of the Mystery dance.
stasmats: Archaic term for chiefs, now used only rhetorically.
[824] *stats:* Cranberry.

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[825] *Sulukɬ:* Mountain on west side of the Kimsquit River.
sus-a'tskwa-kwa: One of the river sculpins.
susukumɬ: To gather cedar-bark.
Sximāna: One of the first women to settle on the Kimsquit River in the beginning
Sxtal: One of the first women to settle at Schooner Pass in the beginning of time.
Sxɬkɬa, "Winter Trail": Locality, perhaps village, on the upper Kimsquit River.
[101] *Sxtskmx:* Generic name of the inhabitants of the Dean valley.
Sxwulk: Village on Dean Channel below Kimsquit.
Smaklx: One of the first men to settle on the Kimsquit River in the beginning of time.
Smakx: Mountain at Kimsquit which was in human form in the beginning of time.
smalaxumdimut: Meeting of the senior supernatural beings to discuss ceremonial matters at the winter solstice.
smalxta: Provender provided by the supreme god for the first settlers in the beginning of time.
sma'xwa: Mud.
smaiāx: Person or object which is taboo.
Sxoiaxwax: Evil supernatural being.
Sqaiɬtwa, "Maker of Good Weather": Supernatural name of dog salmon.
snākwem gdi mānx: Term of opprobrium applied to a child whose father drove away his mother.
spākstx: Sorcerer's box.
Sna-ɬutxmāw-a: Part of a peculiar repository.
spān: Female lover, especially a paramour.
spāxwx: Male lover.
Spaxp-ɬ: One of the first women to settle on the upper Kimsquit River in the beginning of time.
spem: The bursting forth of light.
[785] *snetsta:* Ceremonial chastity.
[831] *snetstadjut:* The state of practising ceremonial chastity.
snetstanal: Power engendered by ceremonial chastity.
spak: 1—Sorcerer.
2—*Kusiut* name of a Bella Coola man.
Spakādjustā-a: Part of a peculiar repository.
sxim: Cedar-bark cord.
Sximāna: One of the first women to settle on the Kimsquit River in the beginning of time.
Sximsximuk: Immoral supernatural woman.
sx'ɬ': Afterbirth.
Sqiyustā-a: Chief of the dogs in the beginning of time.
[838] *Sqaxs:* 1—Hermaphrodite, a supernatural being.
[761] 2—Man who performs woman's work.
sxwaxwaxs hā': Life, one of the supernatural elements in the human body.
[821] *Sxā'lɬaɬ,* South Wind: A supernatural being.
Sxāla, "Angry Moon": First moon after the winter solstice.
[805] *sxla-a':* Poisonous supernatural creature that travels with the War-Party of the Tides.
sxlaxmuk: "The Left Side," in the language of ghosts. The word has two meanings:
[532] 1—Carved human figure set up by a shaman near the vessel of grease which is thrown on a fire.
2—Nickname bestowed on a man.

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Tlaxamymil: Name acquired in the beginning of time by a Rivers Inlet man from a sea-lion.

[825] *tlaxndlitsl:* Sardine.

Tlikmaxotakka, "The Walking One": Supernatural name of the water ouzel.

tlikmuts: Song sung during Cannibal dance while the performers run from house to house.

[825] *tlima:* Mountain goat sinew.

Tlisla: 1—One of the first men to settle at *Stuax* in the beginning of time.
2—Wife of Mount *Nusqalst,* when in human form at the beginning of time.

Tlitcaplilan·a: One of the nine supernatural siblings, a woman who brings aid to those in sickness and is thus the initiator of shamans.

[825] *tlixin:* Sea-lion.

Tlnnstadimut, "Be Like a Person": Instruction given to a stick in the beginning of time. This designation has since been used as an ancestral name.

[821] *tlok':* 1—Moon.
2—The zenith.

[825] *tlokly:* Virulent skin disease.

tlopan·i: Cormorant.

Tlojo·il, "Small Mound": Village in the lower Bella Coola valley.

Tlogats, "Maligner" or "Defamer": A supernatural being.

tlpa: 1—Gaff.
2—To cut wood for masks.

[823] *tlpanap:* "Cut!" Call used on second day of *kusiut* dances.

tlpapalam: Small trickle that flows from rocks near the Hot Springs on Labouchere Channel. The term is probably applied to other similar rivulets.

[415] *tlulai·:* Water-tight basket.

[824] *tmiax:* Water-washed stump with scoured, radiating roots.

Tnigo: Region on the upper Kitlobe River.

[482] *tnixotl:* Tump-line.

toba: Navel.

[825] *Tokuxkl:* Raven's canoe in the beginning of time.

toka: Mink.

tomidjut, "He of the Big Family": Term used to describe a man with many descendants.

[583] *top·a:* Synonym for *tsamamamtmm,* the repurchase of a wife from her husband. This term is perhaps used in Kimsquit alone.

[825] *topiwac:* 1—Fawn.
2—*Nustakamy* name of a Kimsquit woman.

Tpiksta: Star in the Great Bear.

[821] *tqanj:* Lower of the two beaters used in the preparation of cedar-bark.

Tqwaatlos, "Facing": Village at head of South Bentinck Arm, synonymous with *Talio.*

[291] *tsaikotl:* Hat with flat top and broad brim.

tsaix: Stonecrop.

Tsalalitl: Kimsquit shaman mentioned in an ancient story.

Tsa·kmai: Bella Coola warrior living in the last century.

Tsalits: Kimsquit hunter mentioned in an ancient story.

Tsal: Kusiut name of a Bella Coola man.

Tsaalmem: Village on east side of South Bentinck Arm.

[825] *tsatl:* Green barnacles on water-covered stones.

tsiam: Large woodpecker, species unidentified.

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Wat·a: *Xɪxaɪs* woman living in the beginning of time.
wals: Dog.
wawnɪt: Dog, *archaic.*
we·xsia: Cape of yellow cedar-bark.
waxwaxtsia: Brother or sister of grandparent.
Wiakai: One of the first women to settle at *Snuɬɬi* in the beginning of time.
Wiɛqaii: 1—One of the first men to settle at *Tăl·io* in the beginning of time.
2—One of the first men to settle at *Stuɪx* in the beginning of time.
Wikwan·ɛkwɬa: Synonym for *Kwɬa*: Influential Kwakiutl woman captured in the beginning of time by a *Nuɬqalɪt* chief.
Wikwanutl: Kimsquit hunter mentioned in an ancient story.
wina, wɛatɪw, winaɛ: War-party.
Winăs: Slave living at *Nuɬqalɪt* several generations ago.
winăs di qaɛ, "War-Party of the Ocean," or *winăs di sa·ildjo·ɪs,* "War-Party of the Tides": Supernatural being.
Winwina: Supernatural being who captured birds and fish for the benefit of mankind.
Winwinɪnmak: Supernatural being, perhaps identified with one of the warm winds.
winxta: Assistance rendered by the inhabitants of a town to a neighbouring settlement being attacked.
Wipitpawakɪs: Bella Bella chief living in the beginning of time.
Wiɪnmkilak: Smaoan's daughter-in-law in the beginning of time.
Wi'itlɛo: Ancestral name of a Kimsquit man.
Wilulkɪs: Sɪɪaak name of a Kimsquit man.
Wixa: Man who travelled to the Skeena River in the beginning of time.
Wixon: One of the first men to settle at Schooner Pass in the beginning of time.
wɬ·a: Kusiut dance in which the nine supernatural siblings are summoned to earth.
Wɬɣ: One of the first women to settle at Schooner Pass in the beginning of time.
Wɬx: One of Raven's female Crow relatives.
wɬɣ: Cripple.

X

Xaiăqalɪl: Ancestral name of a *Tăl·io* man.
Xaiɬɪs: Stream entering the Bella Coola from the north near *Nuitɛux.*
Xai·ut: Continuous North Wind, anthropomorphized.
xak'loi·: Cry raised as each of the first spring salmon is brought ashore.
Xalaiya: Step-daughter of Raven in the beginning of time.
xaqɛnts: Great blue heron.
Xat: Designation of a tribe, probably a branch of the Carriers, dwelling far to the south-east of the Bella Coola.
xɛxuf: Canada goose.
xa·ɛ: Root of *qɛxmăts,* an unidentified plant.
Xekulus: Kusiut name of a Bella Coola Cannibal.
Xekwɛtsɛw·ɛ: Man mentioned in an ancient story.
Xelimai: Kusiut name of a Bella Coola woman.
xem: The successive rising of the sun from day to day. This word, which is common in derivatives, appears usually to be pronounced *xɛm* after *s.*
Xemɛna: 1—One of the nine supernatural siblings.
2—One of the first men to settle on the Dean River in the beginning of time.
3—One of the first men to settle at *Snuɬɬi* in the beginning of time.

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Xemlaix: One of the first men to settle at *Ẋomqo·ts* in the beginning of time.
Xemtmm: *Kusiut* name of a *Sîskistl* man.
Xemxemälotla: 1—One of the nine supernatural siblings.
2—Ancestral name of a Bella Coola man.
Xemxemlaix: *Sisaok* name brought from above in the beginning of time.
Xemxemtmm: 1—Supernatural beings who request the sun to appear.
[533] 2—One of the first men to settle at *Alqalast* in the beginning of time.
xe·tla: Boastful type of song used by chiefs on war expeditions and at potlatches.
Xedilkes: One of the first men to settle at *Ẋetînelos* in the beginning of time.
Xelâsu: *Kusiut* name of a Kimsquit woman. The designation is of Bella Bella origin.
[825] *ẋaẋ:* Marten.
[412] *ẋîls:* Stone axe.
xlixl: Party of potlatch messengers and the invitation they bear.
[203] *Xmpdimut:* Man mentioned in an ancient story.
Xmxmlaix: *A'alk* man mentioned in an ancient story.
Xmxmoslaix: Celebrated female shaman.
[821] *ẋnẋnäs·i, plural, ẋnẋnäsoksi:* Little girl.
[517] *Xnẋnes:* 1—"Little Girls": Group of stars in the Great Bear.
2—Picnic, especially one on which fern root is gathered.
Xnxais: Bella Coola term for the Carriers living near Ootsa Lake. This is said to be their own name for themselves.
Xnximän·a, "Right Foot": *Stnox* repository named from part of a supernatural creature.
Xnyis: Mountain in the Carrier country.
xnxmänoäs: Spirit, one of the supernatural elements in the human body.
xläxtmm: Ceremony prior to a potlatch when tasks are allotted and the donor's house destroyed.
xläml: The entrusting, before death, of a name for the benefit of a relative.
[586] *Xlikwals:* Mountain in the upper Bella Coola valley.
xlokn·imut: The irrevocable desertion of her husband by a wife.
[825] *Ẋmaxets:* Locality below *Nusḥalst.*
[601] *ẋmẋmatsl:* Minnows.
[614] *ẋnox:* Woman, or wife in indirect address (*lci ẋnoshaix:* My wife).
[423] *ẋnoxäxta:* Female relatives of same ancestral family, term of indirect address.
ẋnoxdäm or *nuẋnoxdäm:* The right by which a husband uses his wife's land, though it is not his own.
Xnutli: Bella Coola sorcerer living in the last century.
xokst: The forcible washing of a Cannibal.
Xolaxwosem: Name acquired by a man mentioned in an ancient story.
[785] *xoldjut:* Intercourse held during ceremonial chastity; the term has a sacred significance.
[831] *Xomtsla:* Male professional singer who came down to the Dean River in the beginning of time.
Xomxomqa: Ancestral name of a *Stnox* man. The designation is said to have come from Smith Inlet.
Xonyotäm: Supernatural scoop-net fisherman, servant of the supreme god.
Xopatlis: Bella Coola man mentioned in an ancient story.

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844 fessional midwives. The child is washed in warm water. For ten days
[846] the mother must remain in this hut. Father and mother must not go
[825] near the room for a year (according to Nusk'ɛlu'sta, for ten days), else the salmon would take offence.

553 The child is soon given its first name. On this occasion the whole
[852] tribe is invited to a feast, the name is made public, and the guests receive
[556] small presents. The child retains this name until it becomes a member of the Kū'siūt, when it is given its Kū'siūt name. This ceremony takes place after puberty has been reached. About this period the young man gives his first potlatch and assumes the Qē'mtsiɔs name.

881 When a girl reaches puberty she must stay in the shed which serves as her bedroom, where she has a separate fireplace. She is not allowed to descend to the main part of the house, and must not sit by the fire of the family. For four days she must remain motionless in a sitting posture. She fasts during the daytime, but is allowed a little food and drink at a very early hour in the morning. After this term she may leave her room, but only through a separate opening. She must not yet
[292] come to the main room. When leaving the house she wears a large hat,
[852] which protects her face against the rays of the sun. It is believed that if the sun should shine on her face her eyes would suffer. She may pick berries on the hills, but must not come near the river or sea for a whole year. She must not eat fresh salmon, else she would lose
[262] her senses, or her mouth would be transformed into a long beak. She
[261] must not chew gum or eat snow (see Fifth Report of Committee, 1889, p. 838).

584 If a young man wishes to marry a girl he goes, surrounded by his
[431] friends, to the house of the girl's father and states his intention. His friends carry food and presents, and if the father accepts the suit he sends out a young man, who receives the food and presents and carries them into the house. Sometimes the father does not accept the offer at once. In such cases the young man may repeat the same ceremony until
[527] he is finally rejected or accepted. After the time of the marriage has been agreed upon between the contracting parties, and the day preceding the marriage has arrived, the young man invites all the people to a feast, during which he states that he is to be married on the following day. He asks a number of men, generally from twenty to thirty, and four
[302] women to assist him. On the following forenoon they assemble, and accompany the bridegroom to the girl's house. They sing outside, and
585 four of the men dance. All of them have their faces painted red. Finally they enter, and the bridegroom gives a large amount of property to the girl's father. Then the girl leaves her parents and goes to the bridegroom, bringing him also a large amount of property which has been
[431] given to her for this purpose by her parents and relatives. He in turn gives her blankets and other apparel of the best quality, and distributes presents among her relatives. This is repeated after some time. All he has given to his bride and her relatives is repaid to him with interest. A rich girl will repay twice or three times the amount given by the man. At the time of the marriage the bride's father may promise the groom to give him his Sisau'kɛl secrets as soon as the pair have their first child.
[851] The children may belong to the father's or mother's gens, as the parents may choose.

586 In case of a separation the wife refunds the amount of purchase-money. The children may stay with either parent, or part of them may

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corner of the house. He prevents those who are not initiated in the secrets of the kŋ'siut from approaching the house. The Snēnē'iq is a fabulous monster, the peculiarities of which are described in a number of traditions (see pp. 83 ff.). S'anōL'x·mul.a'lt (Plate VII, Figs. 12 and 13) is a boy who performs kŋ'siut dances all the time. When the deities resolve to send a new dance down to our world, it is conveyed by S'anōL'x·mul.a'lt. It is the office of another deity to sing, accompanying the kŋ'siut dances of the gods (Plate VII, Fig. 3). Anuqat'ō'tsEm is a deity in regard to whose functions I have not been able to obtain detailed information. It is said that he intervenes on behalf of man when SEnx and At.k'unta'm threaten to punish him. There are two goddesses in the house who also intervene in favor of man when the principal deities threaten him with death and sickness. Their names are Snitsma'na (Plate VII, Fig. 9) and Aiat.ila'axa (Plate VII, Figs. 10 and 11). They wake man after sleep. Without their help, nobody could wake from sleep. Aiat.ila'axa is at the same time the guardian of the moon. Every month she restores the moon to her full size, and she cleans her face after an eclipse. The moon is called A'ni.'at.gila (Plate X, Fig. 10). The eclipse is produced by several deities called Aiq'oa'yosnEm, which means "painting the face black" (Plate X, Figs. 4–6). It is believed that at this time the moon performs one of the most sacred ceremonies of the kŋ'siut, which are thought to be very dangerous to the performer. The black paint with which her face is covered is supposed to be a protection against these dangers. Aiat.ila'axa cleans off the paint after the dance has been completed. According to Jacobsen,[1] the Indians say that during an eclipse the moon (En-kla-loi'-killa) paints her face black. The same deities are believed to paint and to clean the faces of human kŋ'siut dancers. Snitsma'na and Aiat.ila'axa also resuscitate those who are killed by the dangerous performances of the kŋ'siut.

While the functions of the beings enumerated here are mostly concerned with the kŋ'siut, others are more immediately concerned with the affairs of the world. Important among these is K·x·ē·x·ē·k·nē'm (Plate VII, Fig. 5). SEnx is the creator of man, but his work is supplemented by that of the god K·x·ē·x·ē·k·nē'm. When SEnx creates a new-born child, K·x·ē·x·ē·k·nē'm gives the child its individual features. Before children are born, the goddess named Nuēx·qEmalsai'x· or SēmsēmG'ltstas SEnxalā'olEla places them in a cradle and rocks them. After she ceases rocking them, the children are sent down to our world. She also rocks the young of all animals; and when she stops, SEnx sends them down to our world to be born. At the same time he ordains that their skins and their flesh shall serve for clothing and food for man. Nuēx·qEmalsai'x· might therefore be called the deity

[1] Verhandlungen der Berliner Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte, 1884, p. 112.

575 776 575 776 821 776 842 [113]

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[776] [842] having charge of the birth of all animal beings. While she is rocking the cradle, she sings, —

[539] "xoēaxoēsmaix·nimōta nēkō'k·s ta nōēx·t!ɛ'malaix· au au au au.
Aayotsētsk'ōn·'ats six·'ixōtayā'mk·tēts'ats snxmnxmk·'ā'lowasōats ayawa
sōyōnxsōats au au au au."

Another deity living in the House of Myths is the mother of flowers, called Nonō'osqa (Plate X, Figs. 7 and 9), the daughter of Snukpa'nɪ.lts. It seems that this last name means "going to the right." This evidently refers to the fact that the Sun is believed to move on his path towards the west, face forward, and consequently during the spring months ascends the sky [821] moving towards the right; so that Snukpa'nɪ.lts, moving to the right, means at the same time the springtime, when the sun is moving up the sky. This is the time when flowers begin to sprout. Every spring Nonō'osqa gives birth to all the plants in the order in which they begin to appear. A shaman is called to her aid by two old women who assist her (Plate X, Figs. 8 and 11).

Every year, at the time of the winter solstice, the deities determine who shall die during the ensuing year. Two beings called Kakēstsai'ōɪ. ōla xmā'noas are placed on the ends of a long plank, which is supported at its [761] centre, and swings like a seesaw. Then all the men and all the animals are called to stand near the ends of the plank. When one of the swinging beings falls down from the plank, the person standing near it will die sooner than the one standing at the opposite end. The deities have a messenger called Nutsxkoa'lsika (that means "long ear"), who carries all the news from our earth up to the House of Myths. Aɪ.k'untā'm has two children, — the deer, who is called Snoō'lɛxɛlts Aɪ.k'untā'm, that is, "the foolish son of Aɪ.k'untā'm" (Plate VII, Fig. 8), and ɪ.ɛɛxonix·ɪs Aɪ.k'untā'm. I have not been able to learn any thing in regard to the functions of these two beings.

While Sɛnx and Aɪ.k'untā'm are principally concerned with the fates of mankind, they do not personally interfere with the doings of man. Their thoughts are carried out by four brothers, who are called collectively Masmasala'nix or Ontsk·ē'mtɛnxm (Plate VIII, Figs. 1–4). These brothers are Maɪ.apa'litsēk· ("the one who finishes his work by chopping once"), Yula'-timot ("the one who finishes his work by rubbing once"), Maɪ.'apē'exoēk· ("the one who finishes his work by cutting once"), and Iɪ.'ɪɪ.u'lak·. They [772] have a sister called ɪ.'a'qumēiks. These four brothers live in an elevated room in the rear of the House of Myths. They are engaged in carving and painting. It is said that they gave man his arts. They taught him to build canoes, to make boxes, to build houses, and to carve in wood and to

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suddenly a strong wind began to blow, which rolled them over the prairie until they reached the door of the house. Then suddenly the wind calmed down. They remained sitting on the ground near the doorway; and Qamā'its said, "Watch closely when the post of my house closes its eyes." They were sitting opposite each other, watching the post; and when it closed its eyes, they were transformed into two stones, but they soon regained human shape. Then Qamā'its asked them to enter. Now the woman took the youth's blanket, and gave him another one made of bear-skin set with fringes of red cedar-bark. She told him that this blanket was to keep him warm, and that it would direct his course. Next she fetched some water from the salt-water pond behind her house. She sprinkled it over the faces of her visitors, and told the youth to sing about his experiences in the upper heaven when performing the Cannibal dance. If she had not sprinkled the faces of her visitors with water, they would have died. She said to the youth, "Your country is not far away. Do not be afraid of the dangerous road that you have to pass. Later on there shall be many Cannibals like you. Do not be afraid to touch the food that another Cannibal may offer to you. You are strong because you have seen me." Then Qamā'its sent him back to the lower sky. Here the gods placed him on the back of a bird (Sq^{w}xʁʁn), which carried him down to the sea. As soon as the bird reached the water, it uttered its cry, and at the same time the young man uttered the cry of the Cannibal. The people heard it, and said to one another, "That must be the boy whom we lost some time ago." They connected many canoes by means of planks, and paddled out to the place where the bird was swimming about. They covered the canoes with red cedar-bark and eagle-down, and tried to capture the youth; but when they approached, the bird swam towards the village. They surrounded it with their canoes; but the bird flew up, and disappeared in the sky, and at the same time the youth flew towards the village. When the people landed, he attacked them, taking hold of their arms; and the snake, which was still in his body, tore pieces of flesh out of their arms. The people sang and beat time in order to appease him.

In a second room in the rear of the House of Myths, next to that of the Cannibal, lives Kōkō'ɬxʁm, another son of the deities. His room is called Nus'o'lxsta. He initiates the Olx-dancer (see Chap. VI).

The path of the Sun is guarded by a number of deities. At sunrise is stationed the Bear of Heaven, Snanō'ɜ ti Sōnx·t'aix· (Plate X, Fig. 2). He is described as a fierce warrior, who protects the Sun against the attacks of his enemies, and he is the cause of the warlike spirit of man. His hair is tied up in a knot on top of his head. His mask is used in the sisau'k·

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776 575 ceremonial, and sometimes in the kŏ'siut. The following song belongs to his mask and dance:—

[539] Nanemō'tstault ti q'ᵘoyaki'mtst'aix·. Nō'noq'ᵘēxum ts'ɛn t'ayōɬxlat'aix· ayati snanō's ti sōnx· t'aix·, wā, nān, ai!

("Cry now, as though you had left me! I shall tie up my hair, warriors, like the Bear of Heaven.")

776 821 At sunset stands an enormous post which is called Nutēexoa'axtatas ti Sōnx· t'aix·. It supports the sky, and prevents the Sun from falling down into the lower world. The trail of the Sun is described as a bridge which was built by Masmasala'nix. The bridge is as broad as the distance between the winter solstice and the summer solstice. The Sun walks, his face turned towards the west. In summer he walks on the right-hand side of the bridge, in winter on the left-hand side of the bridge, which explains the varying heights of the sun in the course of the year. The extreme right and extreme left of the bridge are called Sē'ɛmt ("the place where he sits down," that is, the solstices). At each of these points a being is placed who is called At.k·x·ē'ɬ.nɛm (Plate X, Fig. 3). It is their duty to see that the Sun does not tarry too long at the solstice. If in summer or winter he should be inclined to stay too long or to return too soon, they regulate his course. When the Sun tarries too long at the winter solstice, the people say, "ēx tsēs pa'nia" ("salmon will be dried late this year"). If he leaves it without tarrying, they say, "ēk·!x· tsēs pa'nia" ("soon we shall dry salmon"). Three guardians named Naqumiqa'otsaix (Plate X, Fig. 1) accompany the Sun on his course, dancing around him all the time. The halo is called Itwu'xtsia ti Manɬ t'aix· ("the cape of our father"). A sun-dog that appears westward from the Sun is called Aɬqōɬ ti Manɬ t'aix· ("the painted face of our father"). The Bella Coola believe that when it drops down to our earth, it causes epidemics. During an eclipse the Sun is believed to lose his torch. The rays of the Sun are his eyelashes.

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There are twenty-four guardians appointed to take care of the sky. They are called Nexolak·ai'x·. According to tradition, the sky must be continually fed with firewood. Once upon a time they put too much firewood into the sky and made it burst. All the pieces except one, called S'aɬ.walō'sɛm, fell down to our earth. The fragments hit the faces of the twenty-four guardians, and distorted them. They tried to mend the sky, but did not know how to do it. They went down the river, and came to Masmasala'nix, whose assistance they asked. Masmasala'nix gathered up the broken pieces, and glued them together. Up to that time the Sun had staid in the east, but now he began to go on his daily course. At that time Masmasala'nix built the bridge over which the Sun travels every day. He placed a wedge in the opening of the sky, into which the Nexolak·ai'x·

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have to put the firewood. This opening is called K'awa'umsta, that is, "mouth kept open by means of a wedge." Masmasalá'nix spoke: "The sky shall not burst again. This wedge shall keep its mouth open." The following kū'siut song refers to these deities: — 776 821 [539]

Ai'mats tā mnatsai' tō·xts ti sō'nx·tsg·i t'aix.
Aiē!x tā mnatsai' ōt. ti S'aɪ.walō·xɛms ti Sōnx· t'aix.
Sk·a ya'lx·tox ti sī'lxnō tā mnatsai'.
Sk·a anōg·a wa ɛxɛmē'x ti K'awa'umstask· ti Sōnx· t'aix· tā mnatsai.

("My child perished like the sky when it broke
Go to S'aɪ.walō·xɛm of the sky, my child!
Gladden my heart, my child!
Sit down in the mouth of the sky, my child!")

Our world is called A'nēkó'ōɪ, or Qɛnk·i'lst, that is, "the land below." It is an island swimming in the boundless ocean. In the far east a giant is sitting with legs apart, who is called Aɪ.ɛp!alaxtnaix·. He holds a long stone bar in his outstretched hands. The earth is fastened to this stone bar by means of two stone ropes. Sometimes he gets tired, and moves his hands to take better hold of the stone bar. Then we have an earthquake; and the Bella Coola say, "Snēnik·pstak·imtōɪ.s," that is, "he takes hold of our world." When he moves our earth westward, we have epidemics. When he moves it eastward, all sickness disappears. 772 776 823 [731] [753]

In the ocean lives a being called Sɛ.lsāts, who twice every day swallows the water of the sea and gives it forth again. This is the cause of the tides. A mask representing this being appears in the kū'siut ceremonial. He is represented as a human being, the face of which is painted with white stripes, which symbolize the various levels of the sea.

The world below us is the country of the ghosts (kōɪ.k·ɪ.ɛ.ōlɛ'mx·). It is called Asiuta'nɛm. Descriptions of the ghosts' country are principally obtained from shamans who believe they have visited that country during a trance. According to the statement of an old woman who believed that as a little girl she had visited the country of the ghosts during a trance, the entrance to the country of the ghosts is through a hole situated in each house, between the doorway and the fireplace. The country of the ghosts stretches along the sandy banks of a large river. There is a hill behind their village, the base of which is covered with sharp stones. When it is summer here, it is winter there. When it is night here, it is day there. The ghosts do not walk on their feet, but on their heads. Their language is different from the one spoken on earth. The souls, on reaching the lower world, receive new names. The village of the ghosts is said to be surrounded by a fence. They have a dancing-house, in which they perform 772 775 [756] [787]

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Smaya'na, that is considered a human being. It is said that his children make the canoe go up Bella Coola River with the rising tide, A'nxamk·ila. The canoe travels the distance from the mouth of the river to the mountain Smaya'na in a single tide. The canoe "Nó'ak·nEm" stays for four months. Then the canoe "Kunkunu'qtstuLs" returns from the country of the Salmon, while "Nó'ak·nEm" leaves again. It is said that all the gods of the House of Myths come to the villages of the Bella Coola in the canoe "Nó'ak·nEm." 773 [776]

The arrival and the departure of these canoes are strictly regulated according to the calendar of the Bella Coola, which for this reason should be explained in connection with their beliefs. The Bella Coola divide the year into two parts, which are separated by the winter and summer solstices. The solstices are periods of indefinite length, between which five months are counted. Each solstice is reckoned, therefore, as approximately six weeks. The names of the months are as follows: — 773 805 821

Sēt·mt (*winter solstice*)	Sēt·mt (*summer solstice*)
Sxōlē·mx·EnEm	Sī·LxEm
[illegible]	Sexexc·mil
Siaq'n'm	Sinulā·lsEmtEnEm
Siqiō'lx·	Tsi·sitak·ā'ms tsEan Anaōlikuts'ai'x·
Sinō·moak·	tEmuLē'm

The canoe "Nó'ak·nEm" arrives, and "Kunkunu'qtstuLs" leaves, in the month Sinulā'lsEmtEnEm. The canoe "Nó'ak·nEm" leaves, and "Kunkunu'qtstuLs" returns, in the month Sxōlē'mx·EnEm.

At the moment when the canoe "Nó'ak·nEm" arrives, a deity called Anaōlikuts'ai'x· (Plate XII, Figs. 1 and 2), who is believed to live in a cave, opens the door of her abode. There is one deity of this name to each village. Her cave is called Nuskēsiō'tsta. It is said that one Anaōlikuts'ai'x· lives on the mountain Sqtsi.. Her house is described as a large hollow bowlder suspended from the top of the mountain by means of a rope. Each Anaōlikuts'ai'x· has an older sister who is called Nutsē'xEnEm. When the canoe "Nó'ak·nEm" appears, and she opens her door, she steps outside and stands in front of her house, dancing, with trembling hands. When a person sees her, he faints. His soul is taken into her house, and is initiated into the secrets of the kō'siut. 773 776 [575]

A particular Nuskēsiō'tsta is believed to be at the foot of the creek Anō'nk·, on the northern side of North Bentinck Arm, near the mouth of Bella Coola River. A woman called Nustsxoaxlō'stxnit. lives there. She is described as emaciated, of black skin, and as wearing a black blanket. A certain chief who lived long ago was the first to see her. He was initiated by her, and after his return he performed a dance, and told what he had seen. Then he died.

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They had hit a stone, and their points were broken. He staid there some time, and when it was nearly dark he returned home. Before he reached his house, he cut his own belly and took out some of the fat from his intestines. He cut it in five pieces, and replaced his intestines. He put the fat into his quiver. When he reached his house, he hung the quiver up outside, and entered. He imitated everything the Lynx had done. When it grew dark, he told his wife to fetch his quiver. She brought it, and he told her to open it and to feed his children. She took the fat out, placed it on a stick, and put it near the fire; and as soon as it grew warm, the Raven cried, "Ttt! Don't put it so near the fire. I feel sick when you do so." He jumped up, took hold of the fat, and put it back in his belly. The Lynx said, "Formerly I fed your children, but you were the first not to treat me properly. You did not give any food to my children." Then the Lynx took some fat, and flung one piece to each of the Raven's children. He cut some meat and gave it to them also. Then the Raven said, "I will give you one of my children, that it may grow up in company with yours."

It is said that the former spirit Toa'lai,[1] it was killed at one time by an Indian who took his place. This tale is recorded in Chap. IV. It belongs to the tribe of the village Nusxé'q!. A similar tradition is told of Astas,[1] by which name the Carriers call the Raven, their principal culture hero. Many traditions referring to Astas are common to the Carriers, the Bella Coola, and the Awi'k·'ēnôx of Rivers Inlet.

The Bella Coola believe that a being called K^{u}tsôs is the father of all mountain-goats. When a hunter meets him, he thinks he sees a kid. Then he should close his eyes and open them again. If the animal is K^{u}tsôs, it will appear in its real shape as a buck of enormous size. The hunter should then ascend the mountain. If he should descend, he would fall and die.

The thunder-storm is produced by the Thunder-bird, who lives on the mountains, in the company of a number of spirits, who are considered his particular friends. The Thunder-bird himself is represented by a black mask with red nostrils. The nose is strongly curved, the forehead bulges forward, and the chin protrudes almost as far forward as the nose (Plate XI, Fig. 1). His herald is called At.xula'tɛnum (Plate XI, Fig. 2). His face is painted with orange and blue stripes, and he carries a speaker's staff, which is painted with spirals of the same color. He watches the door of the Thunder-bird's house. In his house live the Rabbit (Plate XI, Fig. 3); the Owl, who is considered the rival of the Thunder-bird (Plate XI, Fig. 4); the Mountain, L.c'qots (Plate XI, Fig. 5); the Raindrop (Plate XI, Fig. 6).

[1] Verhandlungen der Berliner Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte, 1894, p. 300.

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contradiction is inherent in all the mythologies of the North Pacific coast, they nowhere reach such a degree as among the Bella Coola; and I presume the fact that the traditions are kept secret by the various families accounts for this curious condition.

The prayers of the Bella Coola directed to Sēnx or Ta'ata bear a remarkable resemblance to the prayers of the Tsimshian addressed to Laxha, the sky. In both tribes we find the idea that when the Sun wipes his face it will be clear weather, and man will be happy; consequently the prayer to the deity "to wipe his face" occurs quite often.

One of the most important customs that the Bella Coola borrowed from the Coast tribes is the kā'siut ceremonial, with which are connected the various secret societies, particularly the custom of ceremonial cannibalism. The ceremonies and the paraphernalia used by the Bella Coola and by the Kwakiutl are practically identical. I told above (p. 34) the legend explaining the origin of cannibalism. Among the Bella Bella and Kwakiutl, another tradition is told to explain the origin of this custom. The tradition tells of a spirit called Baxbakualanuxsi'wae, who lives in the forest, and who initiates the members of the Cannibal Society. The series of traditions clustering around this being differ fundamentally from those referring to the Cannibal Society of the Bella Coola. The custom has also spread to the Tsimshian, who say that the secret societies were introduced by a hunter who was taken into the inside of a cliff by a white bear. Inside he saw a house, in which the various societies were performing their ceremonies. It appears, therefore, that the same ritual which is practised by three distinct tribes is explained by three fundamentally distinct myths; and we must conclude that in this case the ritual is older than the myth,—that the latter has been invented in order to explain customs that were borrowed from foreign tribes, so that the ritual is the primary phenomenon, while the myth is secondary.[1]

These considerations explain some of the psychological motives for the development of certain traditions and myths, as well as the curious inconsistency of the clan traditions of the Bella Coola. They do not, however, explain the most fundamental characteristic of the traditions of the tribe. I pointed out in the third chapter of this paper, that, notwithstanding the numerous contradictions contained in family legends, the conception of the word and the functions of the various deities are so well defined that we must consider the mythology of this tribe vastly superior to that of the neighboring tribes. While the latter believe in a great many spirits which are not co-ordinated, we have here a system of deities. The existence of a systematic mythology among the Bella Coola proves that under favorable conditions the advance from the lower forms of beliefs to higher forms may be a very rapid one.

[1] See Report of the U. S. National Museum for 1895, pp. 660 ff.